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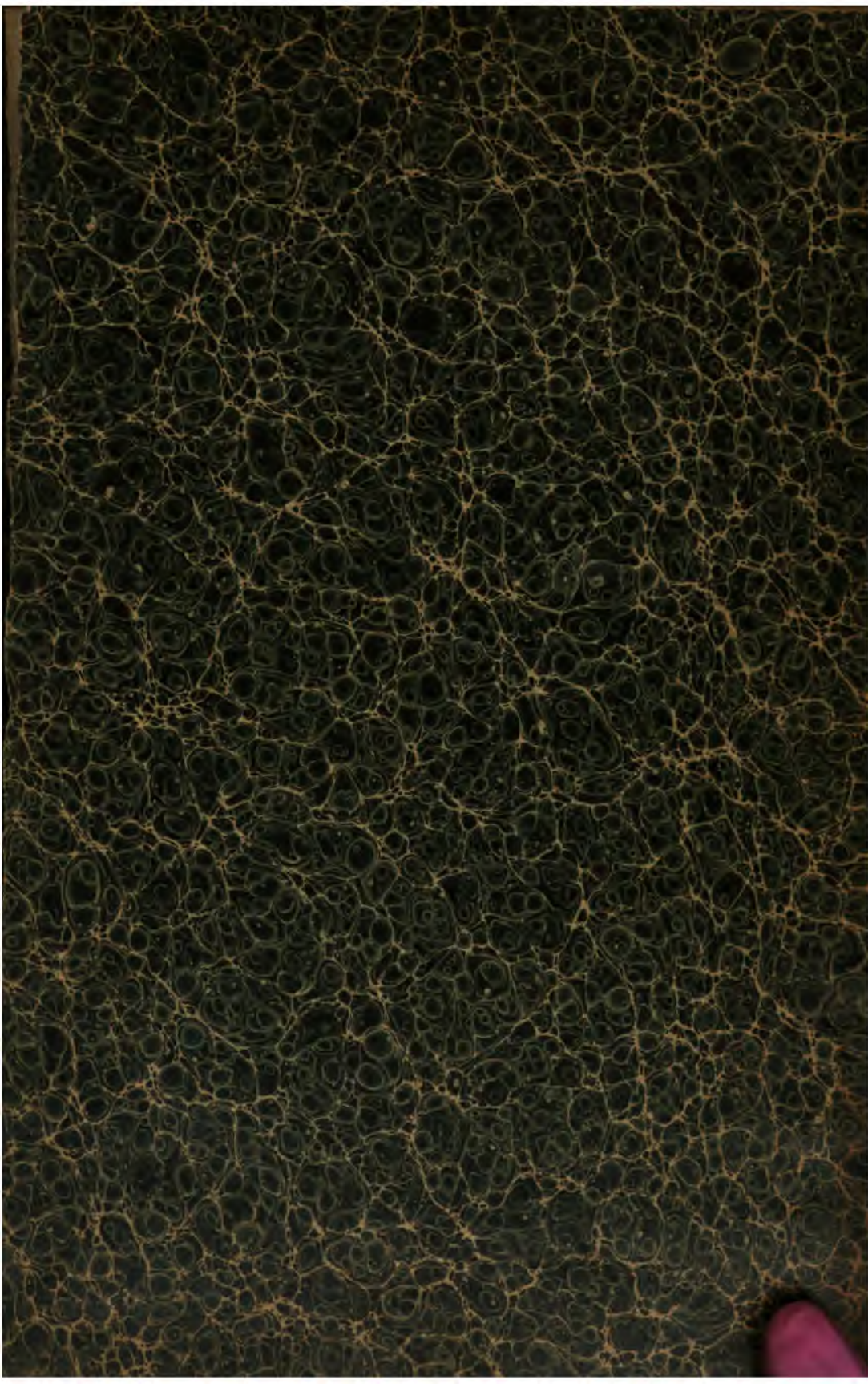


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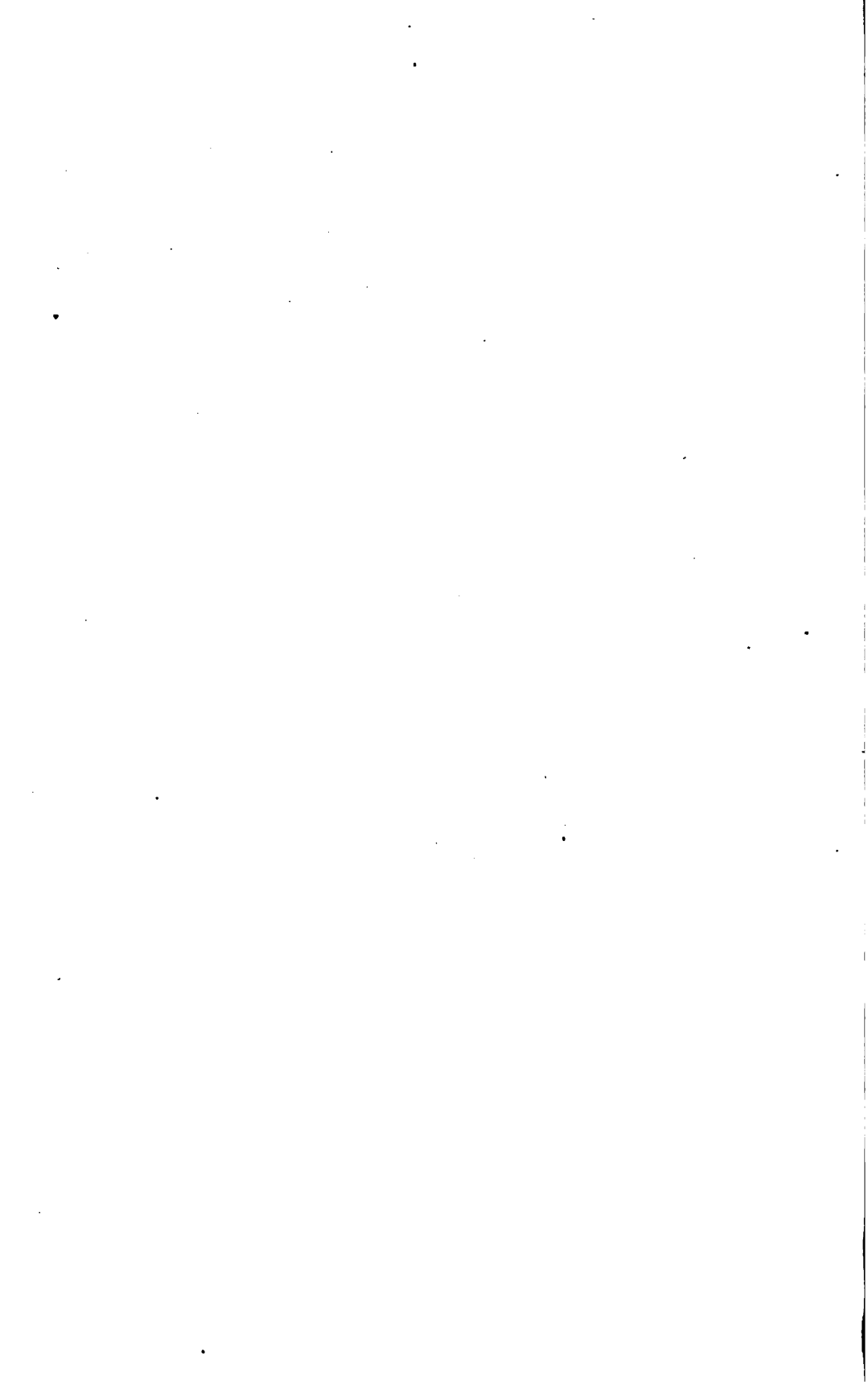












**REVOLUTIONS**  
**OF THE**  
**EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE,**  
**&c. &c.**





A  
CONNECTED SERIES  
OF  
NOTES  
ON  
THE CHIEF REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
*THE PRINCIPAL STATES*  
WHICH COMPOSED THE  
EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE,  
FROM  
HIS CORONATION IN 814,  
TO ITS  
DISSOLUTION IN 1806:  
*ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE  
OF HABSBURGH,*  
AND OF THE  
SIX SECULAR ELECTORS OF GERMANY;  
AND ON  
ROMAN, GERMAN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH NOBILITY.

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*By CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.*

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1807.



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1863, July 6.

J. H. J.  
Prof. James R. Lowell,  
(Class of 1838).

TO  
Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton,  
BART.

---

DEAR SIR,

*It was my intention to dedicate these Sheets to Mr. Fox : To whom, can I now dedicate them with more propriety than You? Your approbation of his political principles and conduct, and personal attachment to him, are generally known;—All his friends are sensible of his high esteem of you.—I myself heard that great man say, he scarcely knew a person from whom it was less safe to differ, than Sir JOHN THROCKMORTON.*

*Permit me, therefore to inscribe the last, as I did the first of these compilations, with your name.*

*I am, dear Sir,*

*Your most obliged and  
obedient humble Servant,*

Lincoln's Inn,  
1807.

CHARLES BUTLER.





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## **PART I.**

**Comprising the Period, from the General Division of the Roman Empire, between Arcadius and Honorius, the Sons of Theodosius the first, to the Revival of the Empire of the West, in the person of Charlemagne.**

**395—800.**



REVOLUTIONS  
OF THE  
GERMANIC EMPIRE.

---

I.

A. C.

1. ON the FINAL DIVISION OF THE 395  
ROMAN EMPIRE, between the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius the 1st, *the Empire of the East*, comprising Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Dacia, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt was assigned to the former; *the Empire of the West*, comprising Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Mæsia, was assigned to the latter.

Honorius was succeeded by Valentinian the 3d:—nine usurpers followed: Orestes was the last of the nine, and was succeeded by his son Augustus. 474

2. In the following year, *Odoacer*, A.C. *King of the Herulians*, conquered all Italy, put an end to the Western Empire, and was proclaimed King of Italy. - - - - - 476

Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, murdered and succeeded Odoacer. He became the 493 founder of the *Ostrogothic Dynasty of Italian Kings*. In 536, Belisarius recovered Rome from Vitiges, the 4th 536 of their Kings; it was conquered by Totila, their 7th King. - - - - - 546

4. Narses, a general of the Emperor 553 Justinian, vanquished Teyas, the son of Totila; and, with the *title of Proconsul*, ruled Italy for sixteen years.

5. Then Alboin, a Lombard General, conquered all that part of Italy, which extends from the Alps, to a supposed line from the Macra to the Rubicon, the Gallia Cisalpina of the Romans, the Modern Lombardy. His



successors subdued the whole of Tus- A. C.  
cany, the Neapolitan territory, and the  
Duchy of Beneventum. This formed  
*the Lombard Kingdom of Italy*; the  
usual residence of its Kings, was Pavia.  
There were twenty-two Princes of this  
dynasty. - - - - - 568

6. To preserve the rest of Italy from  
the invasions of the Lombards, Justin,  
the immediate successor of Justinian,  
sent an officer, called an *Exarch*, with  
imperial command, into Italy. Ravenna  
was the seat of his government: and  
his power extended over the whole of  
that part of Italy, which remained sub-  
ject to the emperor. It was divided into  
different territories, subject to gover-  
nors, generally called Dukes, who pos-  
sessed, in their respective districts, both  
civil and military authority; but all of  
them were subordinate to the Exarch.  
What was properly called the Exarch-  
ate, consisted of the towns of Ravenna,

Boulogna, Imola, Farenza, Forlìmpoli, A.M. Forlì, Césenna, Bobio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Servia, and Secchia, and the castles and lands which belonged to them. The towns of Arimini, Pesaro, Cocna, Fano, Sinigalia, Ancona, Umana, Jessi, Fossombroné, Monfetto, Urbino, the territories of Balni, Cagli, Luceoli, Ugubio, and the castles and lands which belonged to them, were called the Pentapolis.\*

\* SEE the *Dissertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Mediævi*, published by Muratori. Fol.

## II.

SUCH were the revolutions of the Empire of the West—The kingdom of the Franks now came into notice; but the principal events in the *early history of Germany* should first be mentioned.

The Ocean, on the north, the Danube, on the south, the Rhine, on the west, and the Sarmatic provinces, on

the east, are the boundaries, assigned A.M.  
by Tacitus, to Antient Germany. The  
invasion of Italy by the Cimbri and  
Teutones; their defeat by Marius, in 3909  
3909, the invasion of Gaul by the  
borderers of the Rhine, under Ario-  
vistus, and their defeat by Julius Cæ-  
sar, in 3950, are, almost, the only 3950  
events of consequence in the history  
of Germany, before the Christian æra,  
of which we have any certain ac-  
count.

When Cæsar had completed the  
conquest of Gaul, he divided it into  
the Aquitanic, the Celtic, and the  
Belgic provinces; and comprised, in  
the latter, all the German provinces  
on the left side of the Rhine. Au-  
gustus separated from the Belgic Gaul,  
the country between the Meuse, the  
Scheld and the Rhine, and formed it  
into a province called the Germania-  
cis-Rhenana.

In 3995, the famous Arminius or A.M. Hermann, at the head of the Cherusci, a people in the neighbourhood of Goslar, massacred Varus and his three legions, at Windfelt, between the Lippe and the Emms. - - - - 3995

The third century of the Christian A.C. æra, is remarkable for different associations of German tribes, in their common defence, against the Romans.

That of the Alemanni, was formed by the nations between the Rhine, the Mein, and the Lech;—that of the Francici, by the nations between the Rhine, the Mein, and the Weser;—that, of the Thuringians, by the nations between the Mein, the Danube, and the Hartz;—and that of the Saxons, by the borderers of each side of the Elbe.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> SEE d'Anville's *Etats formés en Europe après la chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident*, 4to. Paris 1771.

## III.

OF these, upon every account, and A.C. particularly for the present subject of enquiry, the *Francic Association* is the most remarkable.

Not long after the beginning of the third century, a body of the Franks, under the command of Pharamond, their leader, crossed the Rhine, and founded a kingdom in that part of Modern France which lies between the Rhine and the Scheld. Pharamond was their first King; and he gave birth to a line of princes, called Merovingian, from Merovæus his second successor. Clovis, the second in succession to Merovæus, by several victories, particularly that at Soissons, over the Romans, and that at Tolbiac, over the Alemanni, conquered almost all Gaul, and the whole of Alemannia. His immediate successor conquered Bavaria,

Thuringia, and other parts of Germany. A. C.

But, in consequence of various partitions, and the civil wars occasioned by them, the kingdom was thrown into confusion.

#### IV.

IN the mean time, *the Popes had risen into consequence.*

1. St. Peter, the first of the Popes, had neither temporal estate, nor temporal power. During the ten persecutions, his successors acquired some moveable and immoveable property, for the support of the altar, and its ministers, and for the purposes of charity. The donation of Constantine is a fable; but his constitution of 321, by which he authorized churches to acquire and hold property of every description, by gift, testamentary donation, or purchase, is the real source of the wealth of the church. From



him and his successors, the Popes obtained extensive possessions in Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, France and Africa. In consequence of their descendible quality from Pope to Pope, they were called the Patrimony of St. Peter. Other churches had their respective patrimonies, to which they gave the name of an eminent saint of the district. Thus, the landed property of the church of Ravenna, was called the patrimony of St. Apollinaris; that, of the church of Milan, was called the patrimony of St. Ambrose; and that of Venice, was called the patrimony of St. Mark.—In this manner, the Popes became Owners of Houses and Farms.

The laws of Constantine and his successors conferred on them, something like a right of civil jurisdiction. This was increased by the circumstances and temper of the times; and thus they acquired the Power of Magistracy.

After Justinian had reconquered A. C. Italy, Rome was governed by a duke, who like the other dukes of Italy, was wholly subordinate to the exarch of Ravenna. Still, as the Popes constantly resided at Rome, their spiritual character, their talents, the use they made of them, and particularly, the sums of money spent by them in public and private charities, in support of the walls and fortresses of the city of Rome, and in maintaining troops for its defence, endeared them to the Roman people. This gave them considerable political influence in the city of Rome, and the adjoining parts of Italy. Their exertion of it was always useful, and sometimes necessary for answering the purposes of government; and thus the Popes became possessed, indirectly, of Temporal Power.

Such was the situation of the Popes, when Leo the Isaurian, began his at- 720

tack on Religious Devotion to Images. A. C.

He issued an edict, for the destruction of them, in every part of his empire. It was received, with universal execration, and occasioned numberless tumults. In Ravenna, it produced an insurrection, of which Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, took advantage, to make himself master of the city; but it was reconquered from him, by the assistance of pope Gregory the 2d and the Venetians; and they restored it to the exarch. The emperor then ordered his edict to be executed at Rome; and, on its being opposed by the pope, directed, that the pope should be brought to him, dead or alive. Liutprand offered the pope his protection; besieged and took some towns of the exarchate, and advanced towards Rome. Equally averse from the emperor and the Lombard king, the people formed themselves into a separate

government, under their magistrates, A. C. and placed the pope at their head. This proceeding was alike offensive to Liutprand and the exarch; they agreed to unite their forces, and possess themselves of the city of Rome. - - - - 729

In this distress, the pope made repeated applications to the emperor, urging him to abandon his iconoclastic projects, which had alienated the minds of his subjects, and pressing him to send them succours against the Lombards. These, the emperor often promised, but never sent; and this made it necessary for the Romans to apply for them to another power.

2. France was the only state from which they could hope for relief; but, from Thierry the 3d, who reigned in 688, France had been subject to a succession of princes, to whom history has given the appellation of the Sluggard Kings.

They enjoyed merely a shadow of A. C. royal authority. The mayors of the palace, or, as they are called by the writers of the time, the *Majores-domus-regiæ*, from being chief officers of the household, had insensibly grown to such a degree of consequence, as to possess the whole civil and military power of the state. They are traced to the reign of Clotaire the 2d; but *Pepin of Heristhall*, of the family of the counts of Ardenne, a country between the Moselle and the Scheld, seems to have been the first of them, who formed the project of usurping the royal authority, and making it hereditary in his own family. The states appointed him regent of the kingdom: Charles Martel, his natural son, succeeded him in the regency; and assumed the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks.

To him, pope Gregory the 2d made

his application; but neither the nature A.C. of the application, nor the answer it received, is known. In effect, the pope was left to his own genius to deliver himself and the people, who relied on his protection, from the dangers which threatened them. He succeeded beyond his wishes; he prevailed on Liutprand, not only to desist from his enterprise, but to restore several cities, which he had conquered from the exarchate. Shortly after, he died, leaving one of the fairest characters recorded in history.

He was succeeded by pope Gregory the 3d. During his pontificate, the emperor and the kings of Lombardy persisted in their respective projects, against the pope and city of Rome; and the Lombard king declared war against them. Upon this, the pope finding his applications, to the emperor, fruitless, sent a solemn embassy

to Charles Martel. It was accom- A.C.  
panied by a deputation from the senate and people of Rome; conferring on him the dignities of patrician and consul. The deputies were honourably received; but Charles Martel died without giving the pope any effectual assistance. His titles, dignities and talents, devolved to Pepin, his eldest son. Pope Gregory the 3d. died soon after, and was succeeded by pope Zachary. 741

Matters were now brought to a crisis. On the side of Pepin, the inglorious existence of the Merovingian kings had continued, and the mayors of the palace had exercised all the functions of royalty so long, that, excepting the right, nothing but the name of king was wanting to Pepin. On the side of Zachary, it was evident, that, without instant, powerful, and permanent protection, the pope and city of Rome must fall a prey to the kingdom of

Lombardy. The protection which Zachary wanted, Pepin could grant: the right to the kingdom and the name of king, which Pepin wanted, Zachary could not confer; but, to a general belief, that Pepin possessed the former, and to his obtaining the latter, Zachary could contribute much. Their mutual wants produced a treaty of mutual assistance. In consequence of it, Pepin sent two confidential agents to the pope, proposing to him, as a case of conscience, whether, as, in the empire of the Franks, all the Power of Royalty had been so long held and exercised by the family of Pepin, it was not proper, under the existing circumstances, that they should also have the name of king. The pope pronounced that he, who had the power, ought to have the name of king. On receiving the pope's answer, Pepin called an assembly of the states at Soissons; he was unani-



mously proclaimed king and enthroned. A. C.

He was crowned and anointed king by St. Boniface, the bishop of Mentz, a prelate eminent for the holiness of his life; and, from the extent and success of his missionary labours, beyond the Rhine, called the apostle of Germany.

—Thus ended the Merovingian dynasty, after reigning two hundred and seventy years from the accession of Clovis. Chilperic, the reigning monarch, was shut up in the monastery of St. Bertin in the city of St. Omer in Artois: Thierry, his only son, was shut up in the monastery of Fontenelles, in Normandy: the father died in 754, the time of the son's death is unknown. 750

Pope Zachary did not long survive this revolution; he was succeeded by Stephen the 2d.

On the death of Liutprand, Astolphus his brother and successor, made himself master of Ravenna, and all the

the territories of the exarchate and the A.C. Pentapolis; and thus put an end to the power of the Exarch in Italy. . . 752.

He then turned his forces against the city of Rome; and avowed his intention of making the Romans his subjects and compelling them to pay him a poll tax of a penny of gold. The pope applied to Constantine, the emperor of Constantinople, for relief; he granted him none, but ordered him to wait, in person, on Astolphus, to solicit the restoration of Ravenna, the exarchate, and the Pentapolis. The pope obeyed; but, being ill received by Astolphus, hastened into France. In his own name, and in the names of the clergy, senate, nobility, and people of Rome, he proclaimed Pepin and his sons, Carloman and Charles, patricians of Rome,—that is, exarchs, chosen by the Romans, with another name, and supposed to be subordinate to the em-

peror. In return, Pepin granted to the A.C. pope the city of Ravenna, the exarchate and the Pentapolis. . . . . 753

Though Pepin had been crowned before by St. Boniface, he prevailed on the pope to crown him and his wife and his two sons Carloman and Charles, and to give them the royal unction, in the abbey of St. Denys. In granting his blessing to the people, the pope absolved them from their allegiance to the Merovingian family, and conjured them by St. Peter, with whose authority God had invested him, to maintain the crown in Pepin's family, whom God had specially chosen for the defence of the church and the holy apostolic see.

Then, at the head of his army, Pepin crossed the Alps; but, on Astolphus's promise to restore his conquests, he returned with his army into France. Far from keeping his word, Astolphus

ravaged the Roman territory, and laid A.C. siege to the city. The pope applied again to Pepin, by a letter addressed to him, in St. Peter's name. Pepin flew to his relief, and concluded a peace with Astolphus, and forced him to deliver up to the pope the exarchate, the Pentapolis, and all the cities, castles and territories, which he had seized in the dukedom of Rome. . . . 754

Pepin was no sooner returned to France, than Astolphus renewed the war, and laid siege to Rome. But Pepin again crossed the Alps; forced the Lombard prince to execute the treaty, and made a formal grant of the exarchate and the Pentapolis to the Roman pontiff and his successors in the apostolic see of St. Peter. . . . 755

From these gifts of Pepin, the temporal sovereignty of the popes in Italy, should be dated. But the pope was subordinate to Pepin, as patrician: and

Pepin, as patrician, was nominally A.C. subordinate to the emperor of Constantinople; so that the supreme sovereignty of the emperor, was acknowledged by both.

3. Pepin was succeeded by Charlemagne, his son. . . . . 768

Desiderius, the immediate successor of Astolphus, dispossessed pope Adrian, the immediate successor of pope Stephen the second, of part of the papal possessions: but Charlemagne took Desiderius prisoner, and put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, or rather annexed it to his own person. Charlemagne confirmed to the 774 pope and his successors, the donation made to him, by Pepin, of the lands of the exarchate and the Pentapolis, with the city of Rome, and the adjacent territory, and several other cities and provinces not contained in Pepin's grant: the pope confirmed to Charle-

magne and his successors, the patriarch, with the right of nominating the pope. The Romans and the people of all the other territories, included in the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne, acknowledged the supreme jurisdiction of Charlemagne in all civil and military concerns, within the city of Rome, and the Roman territories. Still, however, Charlemagne recognized the emperor of Constantinople, as his sovereign, for all his Italian possessions out of Lombardy.

But, in this ambiguous and uncertain state, it was impossible things should long continue. It was obvious, that, however the recourse of the pope and the Romans to Pepin and Charlemagne might be excused or even justified, as a measure of absolute necessity, it would be considered by the Greek emperor, as an act of rebellion. This made it necessary for the pope and the

Romans to place themselves beyond A.C. the reach of his resentment. A temporary defence of this kind they had in Pepin, while he lived; and it was continued to them by Charlemagne; but it behoved them to make it permanent; and this could only be done by electing a sovereign, and rendering the throne hereditary in his family. This being once resolved on, every circumstance pointed out Charlemagne, as the only person, from whom and from whose successors, they could rely for the permanent protection their situation required.

Long was the negociation, for this purpose, between the popes Adrian and Leo the third, and Charlemagne. Finally, towards the end of the year 800, Charlemagne, at the pope's request, advanced to Rome at the head of his army. On Christmas day, while

he was praying at the tomb of St. A.C. Peter, the pope, accompanied by the bishops, the clergy, the nobility and a numerous body of the people of Rome, placed on his head a crown of gold, and the people shouted, "Long live Charles! the most pious, august, great and pacific Emperor! crowned of God! Life and Conquest to him." The pope anointed him Emperor, and did him homage. The Emperor then took the following oath: "I Charles, Emperor, promise, in the name of Jesus Christ, before God and the Apostle St. Peter, that I will always defend the Roman Church, against all, as far as God gives me strength and favour." Immediately, in imitation of the Greek emperor, he took the name of consul, and dated his acts from his own indiction. After a short time the Byzantine court acquiesced



in his usurpation, and the limits of the A. C. empires were amicably settled.

Thus, after an extinction of more than three centuries, the Roman empire in the West, was restored in the person of Charlemagne.\* . . . 800

\* See NOTE I.



## **PART II.**

**Comprising the History of the Roman Empire in the  
West, during the time it was governed by the  
Descendants of Charlemagne.**

**814—911.**



## PART II.

## I.

THE empire of Charlemagne comprised the part of Spain, which lies between the Ebro and Pyrenees; the three Gauls, or the countries between the Ocean, the Pyrenees, the Rhine and the Rhone; the part of Germany between the Rhine and the Oder; the greatest part of the Austrian possessions on the southern side of the Danube, and the whole of Italy, from the Alps to Beneventum.

On the death of Charlemagne, the empire descended to his son, Lewis the Debonnaire. He, in his life-time, divided it among his three sons: they quarrelled immediately after his decease. At the battle of Fontenai, in

which almost the whole of the antient A. C. nobility of the Franks perished, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, obtained a victory over Lothaire, their eldest brother: but, through the intervention of the few surviving nobles, the three princes, by the treaty of Verdun, agreed to a DIVISION AMONG THEM OF THE WHOLE FRANCIC EMPIRE. . . . . 842

1. Lothaire preserved the title of Emperor, and the kingdom of Italy, with all the countries between the Rhone and the Saon, the Meuse, the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Alps.

2. Lewis the German, took all Germany from the Rhine to the Oder, and the three cantons of Mentz, Spire, and Worms.

3. There remained of the empire of Charlemagne, the part of France between the Scheld, the Meuse, the Saon, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees, and the

Marca Hispanica, or the part of Spain A. C. between the Pyrenees and the Ebro: these were assigned to Charles the Bald.

Here, properly speaking, the Francic empire terminates. The territories allotted to Lothaire, received the appellation of the *Kingdom of Italy*; those allotted to Lewis the German, were called *Francia Orientalis*; those allotted to Charles the Bald, were called *Francia Occidentalis*; in time, the *Francia Orientalis* was called the *Kingdom of Germany*; the *Francia Occidentalis* was called the *Kingdom of France*. Till Charles the Bald, the Teutonic or German was the language of the court; in his time, the Romancic, afterwards called the French language, came into use.

The three kingdoms were reunited in Charles the fat: who was deposed by his subjects, and the kingdoms of Italy,

France, and Germany, were again separated, the two last, never to be reunited.—From the skirts of the kingdoms of France and Germany, two new kingdoms arose,—the *Kingdom of Lorraine*, which comprised the country between the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld, or the modern Lorraine, the province of Alsace, the Palatinate, Treves, Cologne, Juliers, Liege, and the Netherlands:—and the *Kingdom of Burgundy*, divided into the Cisjuranean, or the part of it to the west, and the Transjuranean, or the part of it on the east, of Mount Jura. The former comprised Provence, Dauphiné, the Lyonnese, Franche-comté, Bresse, Bugey, and a part of Savoy; the latter, contained the country between Mount Jura and the Pennine Alps, or the part of Switzerland within the Russ, the Valais, and the rest of Savoy.



## II.

Soon after the division of the em- A.C.  
pire of Charlemagne, the FEUDAL POLITY assumed a consistency; and, by degrees, overpowered, in every part of his territories, the power and dignity of his descendants. Availing themselves of the weakness of the Carlovigian Princes, the Dukes and Counts, converted their Governments into Hereditary Possessions, which they parcelled out among their Barons, and those among their Tenants, the superior still retaining the faith, homage, and military service of his vassal. The principal of these usurpers were,—in France, the Dukes of France, Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, Gascony, Gothia, or Septimania, and Aquitaine, the Counts of Flandres, Champagne and Toulouse,—in Germany, the Dukes of Franconia, Sax-

ony, Bavaria, Suabia and Lorraine.— A. C. All of them professed to hold their possessions of the crown; but, as they exercised every royal prerogative within them, their dependance on the crown was very slight.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> THIS is the general opinion; but the celebrated Leibnitz has attempted with much learning and ingenuity to shew, that, in the very earliest period of German History, the Dukes and Counts were independent princes in their territories; and that they preserved their independence, notwithstanding Charlemagne's German conquest. See his treatise, under the assumed name of *Cesarinus Furstenerius, de Jure Suprematûs ac Legationum Principum Germaniæ*, in the 4th Tome of Mr. Dutens's edition of his works, six volumes 4to. Geneva, 1768. He seems, however, to concede, that they acknowledged a general superiority, of a feudal nature, in Charlemagne.

### III.

UNDER these circumstances, the  
HOUSE OF CHARLEMAGNE DECLINED  
RAPIDLY.

*In Italy*, immediately upon the ab-

dication of Charles the fat, the king- A. C.  
dom was seized by Guy, the duke  
of Spolletto, and Berenger duke of  
Friuli, who both, by females, descend-  
ed from Charlemagne. This is called  
by the Italians, the Translation of the  
empire of the west to Italy. *In Ger-*  
*many* upon the abdication of Charles  
the fat, the people, from respect to the  
memory of Charlemagne, deferred the  
crown, first to Arnold, a natural son of  
Carloman, king of Bavaria, and after  
Arnold's decease, to Lewis his son,  
On the decease of Lewis, they elected  
a Duke of Franconia for their king,  
and then a Saxon line of princes. *In*  
*France*, the same respect for the me-  
mory of Charlemagne, preserved his  
descendants longer on the throne:---  
finally, on the death of Lewis the fifth,  
without issue male, Hugh Capet, duke  
of France, and count of Paris and

Orleans, wrested the French sceptre A.C. from them.\*

#### IV.

THE first of the two following *Genealogical Tables*, will shew the Descent of the Emperors of the Franks: the second will shew the Descent of the Emperors of Germany, and of the Kings of France of the Carlovingian line: among the emperors of the Franks, the Kings of Italy of the House of Charlemagne are included,

\* SEE NOTE II.

II. LEWIS I. called the *Debonnaire*  
 Crowned..... 813.  
 + ..... 840.

Giseli=Earl Everard.  
 Married ..... 867.

Berenger I.  
 Duke of Friuli,  
 King of Italy... 888.  
 Dethroned ..... 890.  
 Restored. .... 904.  
 + ..... 924.

Giseli=Aldebert  
 Marquis of  
 Ivray.

Berenger II.  
 King of Italy... 950.  
 Dethroned by Otho  
 the Great.....  
 + ..... 996.

Adelbert  
 King of Italy,  
 reigned jointly with  
 his father.

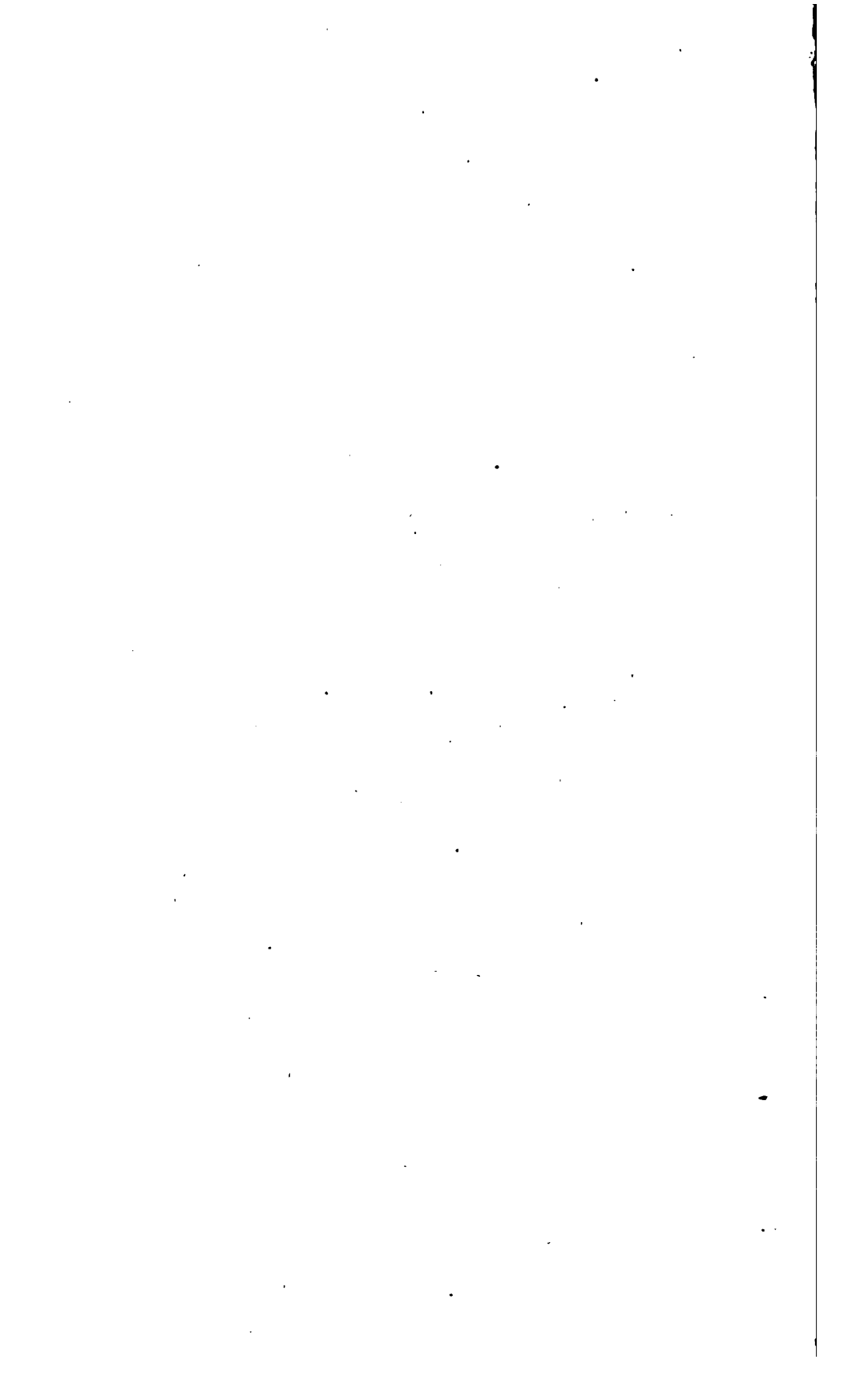
Adelaide=Conrad  
 Constance

Rudolph I.  
 King of the Thuringians,  
 Burgundy,  
 + .....

Rudolph II.  
 King of Italy..  
 Expelled.....

Resigned .....  
 + .....

Lothaire=Adelaide=  
 King of  
 Italy,  
 1st Husband.  
 G  
 pe  
 me  
 H



ED.

T.

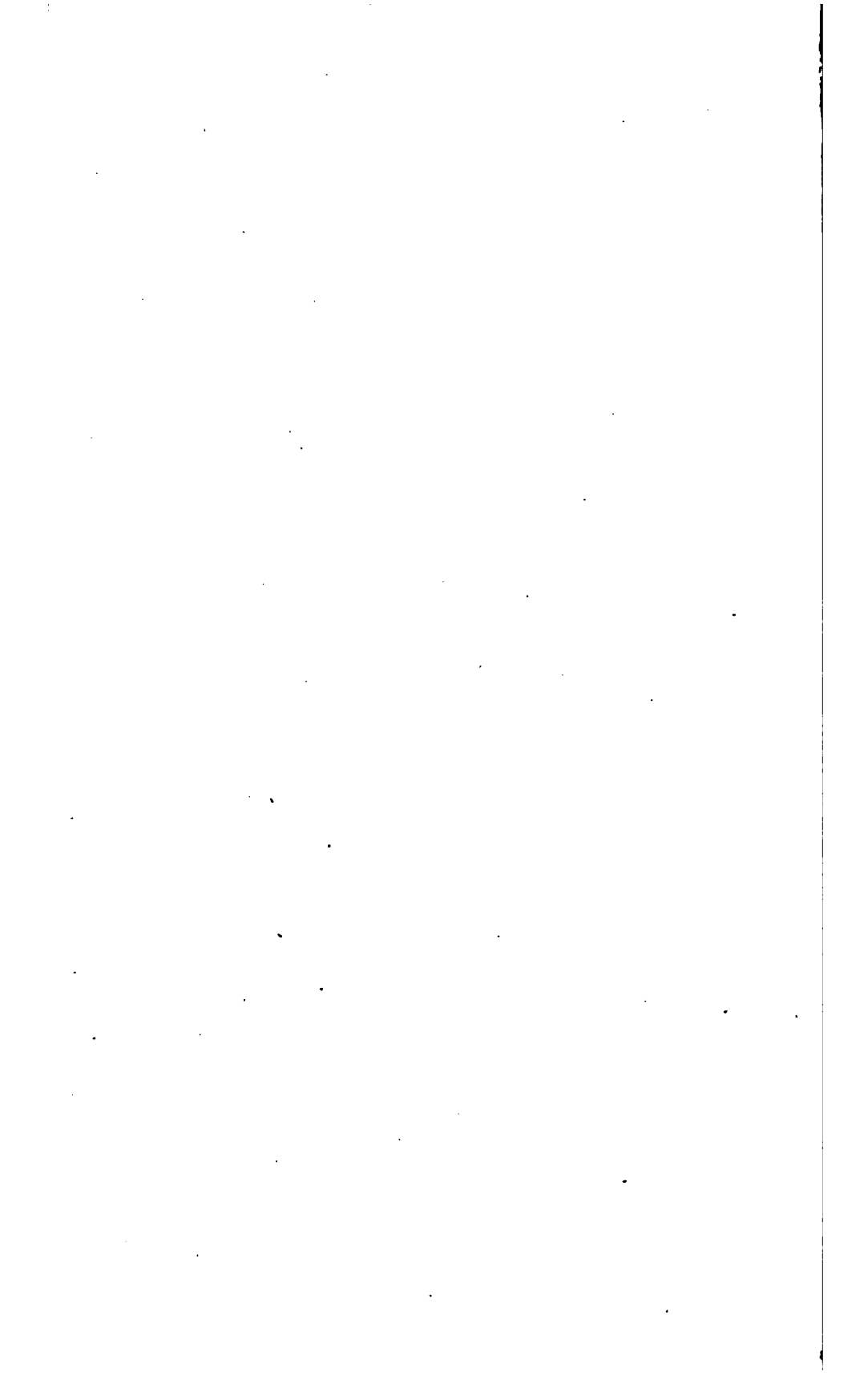
Strong,  
 Orleans;  
 .. 887.

T;  
 France  
 Burgundy.

Lot  
King ..... 922.  
..... 929.

EMMA = 9. RUDOLPH;  
 King, 923.  
 + 936.

TE III.





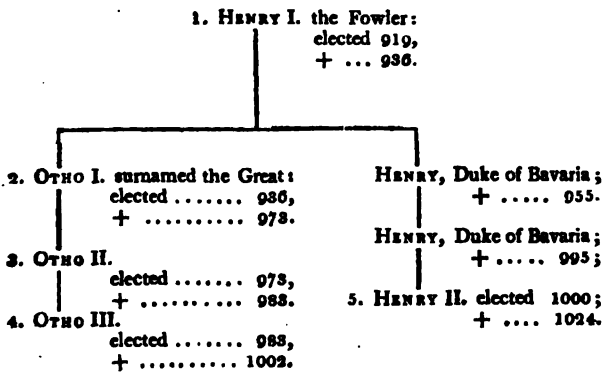
### **PART III.**

**Comprising the Period of the German Empire, during  
the Saxon, Franconian and Suabian Dynasties.**

**911—1254.**



## THE EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.



In the period of the German history, during which the throne was filled by the **SAXON EMPERORS**, the reader's attention is generally directed to four circumstances: 1. the principal states of which Germany was then composed; 2. the origin of the house of Saxony: 3. the early cities; 4. and early monasteries in Germany.

1. The general limits of the German empire have been mentioned: in respect to its *Principal States*, a considerable portion of the part of its territory, which lies on each side of the Mayne, was known by the various appellations of Nova Francia, Francia Orientalis, Francia Teutonica, Ostrofrancia, Austrasia and Franconia. The space between that part of Germany and the upper Elbe, Saxonia and Alemannia, was filled by the Thuringians. The Saxonia of Ptolemy lay between the Oder and the Elbe; but, at the period now under consideration, the Saxons had deserted the Oder, and were spread from the Elbe over

the Ems, and reached Francia and Thuringia on the South. The northern country, between the Weser and the Meuse, was called Frisia; the country between the Rhine and the Meuse was called Austrasia; the country between the Rhine, the Neker and the Lech, was divided between the Suevi and the Alemanni; the country between the Lech, the Alps, and the Anisa was called Boioaria, since softened into Bavaria. On the east of it, was Austria; Moravia was called Austria Maharensis; modern Bohemia was called Beheim; Croatia, Sclavonia, Servia, and Dalmatia, have continued, under the same appellations, to represent the same territories.

2. The Saxon emperors are generally supposed to derive their origin from Har-derich, the first of the Saxon Kings whose names are known to us. He reigned ninety years before Christ; to him Hengist, who with his brother Horsa, invaded England in 434, was fourteenth in succession;

and Witekind the Great was tenth in succession to Hengist. After a war of thirty years, he was conquered by Charlemagne; the whole nation became subject to the conqueror; and he granted to Witekind the Duchies of Engern and Westphalia; from that time, Witekind took the appellation of Duke of Saxony. In a further part of these sheets, some mention will be made of the Houses which descended from him. Henry, the first emperor of the house of Saxony, was fifth in descent from him, by males claiming through males.

3. The aversion of the antient Germans from living in *cities* or even in villages, is mentioned more than once by Tacitus: it decreased, as they spread themselves over the countries lying on the west of the Rhine; so that, at an early period after the Triboci, Nemetes, and Vangiones, settled in the country between the Rhine and the Vosges, we find the cities of Strasburgh, Spire, Mayence and Worms. Under the Francic Sove-

reigns, cities were multiplied; but they were particularly encouraged by Henry the Fowler. From the troops quartered in Germany, he chose every ninth soldier; the remaining eight were to sow and till the land, and to carry the produce of it to the ninth; and he was to build habitations for its preservation, and for himself and his companions to dwell in. Insensibly these soldiers were joined by the general body of the people, particularly of the lower order. The emperor ordered the courts of justice, fairs, tournaments, and other public meetings to be held in the cities, and sent his own officers to preside over them. His example was followed in every part of Germany, so that it scarcely contained a territory which had not its city.

In each of them, there generally was a college of decurions for its internal government, and for transacting its concerns with strangers, and to each of them the emperors generally granted some exclusive privileges.

To the more favoured of them they granted the *jus Stapulæ*, or the right of having all commodities, which were brought into them, exposed to public sale for the benefit of the inhabitants; and the *jus Geranii* or a right to have all goods imported into them, or exported from them, weighed or measured by the public weights and measures of the city, for which the city was entitled to a duty. The establishment of a city was at first an imperial prerogative; insensibly it was usurped, with other prerogatives of royalty, by the nobles. By degrees the cities increased in consequence, and their forms of government became more regular. At first, their chief magistrates were of noble extraction; but by degrees, the chief offices were opened to the general body of the people: the city of Neuremberg alone invariably continued to be governed by patrician magistrates; on which account the German writers generally give her the honourable appellation of the *Inclyta Norem-*



*berga*. Thus, soon after the time of which we are speaking, there were in almost every town in Germany three different ranks of inhabitants; the nobles, the citizens, and the slaves; but, about the beginning of the twelfth century Henry the fifth enfranchised all slaves in cities who were artisans, and raised them to the rank of citizens.\*

\* SEE Heinecc. *Elem. Jur. Germ. Lib. I. Tit. V. de jure Municipum*, and Dr. Robertson's *View of the State of Society in Europe*, Note xvi. xvii.

4. To this period we may also assign the great increase of the early monasteries of Germany. On the general utility of those foundations at this æra, a celebrated protestant historian, Mr. Mallet, in his *Histoire des Suisses ou Helvetiens*, 1<sup>o</sup> Tom. p. 105, thus expresses himself: "The christian clergy, like the Druids of Gaul, were the only depositaries of knowledge; the only lawyers, physicians, astronomers, historians, notaries; the only persons acquainted with the Belles-Lettres; the only persons

“ who could instruct youth; except among  
“ them, profound ignorance reigned every  
“ where. The Monks softened, by their  
“ instructions, the ferocious manners of the  
“ people; and opposed their credit to the  
“ despotism of the nobility, who knew no  
“ other occupation than war, and grievously  
“ oppressed their subjects and inferiors. On  
“ this account the government of the monks  
“ was preferred to theirs. The people sought  
“ them for judges; it was an usual saying,  
“ that it was better to be governed by a  
“ bishop’s crosier, than a monarch’s sceptre.  
“ The monks were engaged in useful em-  
“ ployments; they cleared and cultivated  
“ desert and savage lands. We find that  
“ in many places, where those missionaries  
“ established themselves, agriculture, next  
“ to preaching, was their principal occu-  
“ pation. Where St. Gal built his church,  
“ he planted a garden, and reared a flock  
“ of sheep: he recommended to his dis-  
“ ciples to support themselves by the labour

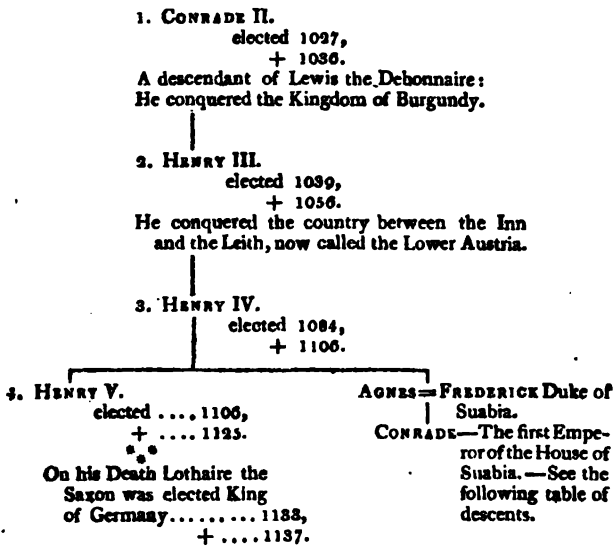
“ of their hands. Was it possible that such  
“ men should not be venerated, both during  
“ their lives and after their deaths? Can  
“ history then reckon up such a super-  
“ abundance of men, who have devoted  
“ themselves to the welfare of their neigh-  
“ bours? At a later period the monks were  
“ corrupted by riches and power; this is the  
“ common fate of man; but, at the time we  
“ are now speaking of, they had never been  
“ other than respectable. The monastery  
“ of St. Gal had also a school, which by  
“ degrees became famous; both laymen and  
“ persons, who devoted themselves to the  
“ church, flocked to it in crowds. There,  
“ books were preserved; there, they were  
“ copied; there, several precious works of  
“ antient writers were discovered, which  
“ must have perished in the general con-  
“ fusion of the barbarous ages, without these  
“ asylums, where religion still threw out  
“ some light. When we consider the pro-  
“ found ignorance of the nations who in-

“ vaded the Roman empire and established  
“ themselves on its ruins, their exclusive  
“ passion for war, their contempt of the  
“ sciences, the arts, and even of writing, one  
“ perceives that every thing then concurred  
“ to produce in Europe, the barbarism  
“ which had reigned so long among the  
“ Celtes, the Scandinavians and Sarmatians.  
“ What was it, which, in this æra of the ruin  
“ of the Roman empire, preserved the hu-  
“ man mind from being plunged into the  
“ darkness of the greatest barbarism, and  
“ from losing the last remains of Greek and  
“ Roman lore?—For this blessing, mankind  
“ is indebted to the christian religion. No-  
“ thing less than the power of religion could  
“ subdue those barbarous prejudices, which  
“ carried the contempt of the sciences even  
“ to writing. It was necessary that there  
“ should be a sacred book which made  
“ some knowledge of writing indispensable;  
“ —a particular class, an order of informed  
“ men, bound to study and teach its con-  
“ tents,”

## TABLE IV.

## EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.

1027—1137.



1. Under Henry the III, *the Empire of Germany had its greatest extent*: it comprised Germany, Italy, Burgundy and Lorraine; Poland, and other parts of the Sclavonian territories, were its tributaries; Denmark and Hungary acknowledged themselves its vassals,

2. *The Emperors affected to consider all christendom as forming a royal republic, of which the emperor was chief.* At the council of Tours, in 1055, the emperor Henry III avowed all these pretensions, against Ferdinand the king of Castille, who had assumed the title of emperor; and, on the suggestion of Henry, the pope and the fathers of the council sent deputies to Ferdinand, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to take the title of emperor. In consequence of this assumed supremacy, the emperors claimed the exclusive right of creating kings. Boleslaus, the duke of Poland, having taken on himself the title of King, in 1077, the states of the empire

declared it to be an infraction of the imperial prerogative, and proclaimed war against him. For his right to this splendid pre-eminence the emperor has lately found advocates in Germany.—(See Leibnitz's Treatise, under the assumed name of *Cæsarinus Furstenerius, de Jure suprematûs ac legationum Principum Germaniæ, Op. Omn. Tom. IV.*) But out of Germany nothing of it is allowed him, beyond precedence in rank, which no sovereign in Europe contests with him. It is observable that, as the French monarchs insisted on the Carlovingian extraction of Hugh Capet, they affected to speak of Henry the Fowler and all his successors as usurpers of their family dignities:—in this manner Lewis the fourth expresses himself in some memoirs attributed to him, which have been recently published.

3. Soon after reaching this point of grandeur, the empire began to decline: this was principally owing to the rapid extension of the *Feudal System*, perhaps the most singu-

lar event recorded in history.—The following lines, giving some account of the introduction of the feudal law into Europe, are copied from one of the writer's annotations on Coke upon Littleton.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FEUDS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES is involved in a considerable degree of obscurity. That in the time of Pepin the feudal polity arrived at a degree of maturity and consistence, is certain. It must, therefore, have previously had its rise and progress. Some vestiges of these are discoverable in the scanty materials which have reached us, of the history and antiquities of those early times. We find mention in them of the leuds;—of lands entrusted (*commendati*) by the king to his followers;—of estates, which, on account of the infidelity, or the cowardice of the proprietary, or his placing himself under another lord, the king takes from him, and restores to the fisc. There is also mention of the *pares comitum*, and the *fideles*, and



of reinvesting the leudes, who had been unjustly deprived of their possessions. At first kings alone granted fiefs. They granted them to laymen only, not to ecclesiastics; and to such only who were free, and probably to the most important only of their followers. They were not granted, for any certain, or determinate period of time; they were not transmissible to the descendants of the grantee; they were resumable on the bad conduct of the vassal, without the sovereign's being obliged to show the cause of the resumption, or having recourse to any judicial process. The vassal had no power to alienate them. Every freeman was subject to the obligation of military duty; this was the case, in a more particular manner, of the feudal tenants; they were to attend the sovereign on horseback, and in complete armour, that is, with the breast-plate, the shield, the spear, the helmet, and the sword. They were to guard his life, member, mind and right honour. They were

first called *homines, fideles, leudes, antrustiones*; to all these the appellation of *vassals* succeeded. It appears, that, in early times, the feudal tenants were numerous. A considerable part however of the subjects were free from the feudal tenure. The lands held by these, were called allodial. The proprietors of them were under the general obligation of military service, and were subject to general taxation. Their particular nature was chiefly discernible in this, that, they differed from the villeins, as they were freemen; and from the feudal tenants, as their possessions were from the first hereditary. For, originally, the crown itself was, not in the sense, in which we now use the word, hereditary. A marked preference was always shewn, both by the sovereign and the nation, to the royal lineage. But by each, the strict line of hereditary descent was occasionally interrupted, by calling to the throne a remote relation, to the prejudice of the actual heir. The government was

monarchical; but strongly controlled by the people. Twice a year, the people, or as they were afterwards called, the states, assembled. The first of these general assemblies was held, originally in the month of March, afterwards in the month of May, and always in open air. Hence, from the time of meeting, the expression *le champ de Mars*, afterwards *le champ de Mai*. The second assembly was held in the autumn. It was divided into two classes. The first comprised the bishops, the abbots, the dukes, the counts, and the elders of the nation; and all of them had deliberative voices in the assembly. The second contained the magistrates, and the inferior officers; but these attended only to receive the orders of the assembly. The king proposed the subjects of debate, by his referendary; the members of the first class deliberated upon them; the king pronounced the decision. The acts were reduced to writing, under the name of capitularies, and the

execution of them was entrusted to the members of the second class. The governors of provinces were called dukes; the counts were subordinate to them, and administered justice, in the districts committed to their care. The *missi regii*, were commissaries appointed by the king, to attend to the general administration of justice, throughout the nation. Next to the counts were the barons, or the chief land owners: then followed the general body of freemen; after these, came the artisans, the labourers, and the villeins. The general administration of affairs, was entrusted to the almoner, who was at the head of the clergy. The referendary and chancellor were the chief counsellors of state: then followed the chamberlain, the count of the palace, the high steward, the butler, the constable, the marshal, the four huntsmen, and the grand falconer. Such appears to be the general outline of the feudal government, during the Carolingian line. That line was ex-

tinguished, in France, by the accession of the Capetian line; in Germany, by the accession of the House of Saxony; and in Italy by the usurpation of the dukes. Soon after, or perhaps some time before this event, fiefs became hereditary. Even the offices of duke, count and margrave, and the other high offices of the crown, were transmitted in the course of hereditary descent; and not long after, the right of primogeniture was universally established. It first took place, in the descent of the crown, but was soon admitted by every branch of the feud. This stability of possession was an immense addition to the power of the crown vassals. It enabled them to establish an independency of the crown. They usurped the sovereign property of the land, with civil and military authority over the inhabitants. The possessions, thus usurped, they granted out to their immediate tenants, and these granted them over to others, in like manner. By this means, though they always

professed to hold their fiefs from the crown, they were in fact absolutely independent of it. They assumed in their territories, every royal prerogative: they promulgated laws; they exercised the power of life and death; they coined money; fixed the standard of weights and measures; granted safeguards; entertained a military force; and imposed taxes, with every other right supposed to be annexed to royalty. In their titles, they styled themselves, Dukes, &c. "by the grace of God," a prerogative avowedly confined to sovereign power. It was even admitted, that, if the king refused to do the lord justice, the lord might make war against him. In the ordonnances of St. Lewis, ch. 50, is this remarkable passage: "If the lord says to his liege tenant, Come with me, I am going to make war against my sovereign, who has refused me the justice of his court: upon this, the liege man should answer in this manner to the lord: I would willingly go to the king to

“ know the truth of what you say, that he  
“ has denied you his court. And then he  
“ shall go to the king, saying to him in this  
“ manner: ‘ Sir, the lord in whose legerance  
“ and fealty I am, has told me you have  
“ refused the justice of your court; and  
“ upon this I am come expressly to your  
“ majesty, to know if it is so; for my lord  
“ has summoned me to go to war with you.’  
“ And thereupon, if the king answers, that,  
“ he will do no judgment in his court, the  
“ man shall return immediately to his lord,  
“ and his lord shall equip him, and fit him  
“ out at his own expence; and if he will  
“ not go with him, he shall lose his fief by  
“ right. But if the king answers, that he  
“ will hear him, and do justice to the lord,  
“ the man shall return to him, and shall  
“ say: ‘ Sir, the king has said to me, that he  
“ will willingly do you justice in his court.’  
“ Upon which, if the lord says, ‘ I never will  
“ enter into the king’s court, come there-  
“ fore with me, according to the summons

“ I have sent you ;’ then the man shall say, “ I will not go with you ; and he shall not lose his fief for his not going.” This shews how powerful and absolute the great vassals were. The same motive which induced the vassals of the crown to attempt to make themselves independent of the crown, induced their tenants to make themselves independent of them. This introduced an ulterior state of vassalage. The king was called the *Sovereign lord* ; his immediate vassal was called the *Suzereign* ; and the tenants holding of him were called the *arrere* vassals. Between these and the sovereign, the connexion was very small. In those reigns, even when the power of the monarch was greatest, his authority over the *arrere* vassals was faint, and indirect. Of this the history of Joinville presents a striking instance : Previously to the departure of St. Lewis on the crusade, he summoned an assembly of his barons to attend him, and required them to swear, that, on



the event of his decease during the expedition, they would be loyal and true to his son. Joinville his historian, a feudatory of the count of Champagne, though he possessed a most enthusiastic veneration for the king, and the warmest attachment to his person, refused, on account of his vassalage, to the count, to take the oath: his words are, "*Il le me demanda, mais je ne vox faire point de serement, car je n'estoie pas son home.*"

The consequence was, that, in every kingdom there were as many sovereigns, with the power and ensigns of royalty, as there were powerful vassals. With respect to *France*, Hugh Capet acquired the crown of that kingdom, by availing himself of the extreme weakness, to which it was reduced by the system of subinfeudation. After he acquired the throne he used his utmost efforts to restore it to its antient splendour and strength. His successors pursued his views with undeviating attention and policy; and with so much success, that pre-

viously to the accession of Lewis the thirteenth, the seventy-two great fiefs of France were united to the crown, and all their feudal lords attended, at the states general in 1614, the last that were held, till the late memorable assembly of them in 1789. This system of re-union was compleated by the accession of the provinces of Lorraine and Bar to the crown of France, in 1735. (See *Abregé Chronologique de grands Fiefs de la Couronne de France*, Paris 1729.) Like France, *Spain* was broken into as many principalities as it contained barons. In the course of time, they were all absorbed in the more powerful kingdoms of Arragon and Castile; and, by the marriage of Ferdinand, the sovereign of Arragon, with Isabella the sovereign of Castile, they were all united to descend in the same line. No such re-union took place in the empire. Under the immediate successors of Charlemagne, it was broken into innumerable principalities, never to be re-united. If we

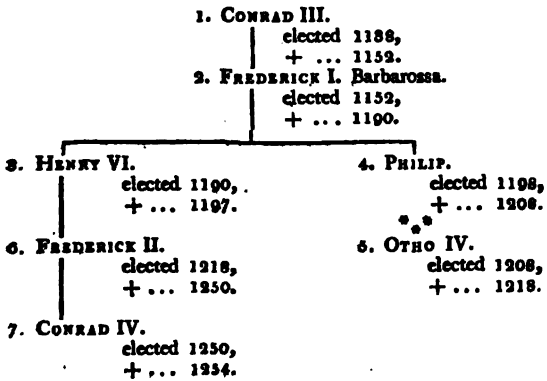
allow for the difference of public and private manners, it presents the same spectacle at this day, as the other states of Europe presented formerly, but which is now peculiar to itself—a complex association of principalities more or less powerful, and more or less connected, with a nominal sovereignty in the emperor, as its supreme feudal chief. In England no such dismemberment, as that we have been speaking of, took place; nor did the nobles ever acquire, in England, that sovereign or even independent power, which they acquired in Spain, Germany, or France. The power and influence of some of the English nobles were certainly great, and sometimes overshadowed royalty itself. But it is evident that Nevil the great earl of Warwick, and the nobles of the house of Percy, the greatest subjects ever known in the country, were, in strength, dignity, power, and influence, and in every other point of view, greatly inferior to the dukes of Brittany or

Burgundy, or the counts of Flanders. The nature of this note neither requires, nor allows, a further deduction of the public history of the feuds of Europe: the four circumstances we have mentioned—the heirship of fiefs, the right of primogeniture, the intermediate sovereignty of the crown vassals, and the introduction of subinfeudation,—completed the triumph of the feud over monarchy. Here the historical deduction naturally closes. The Carlovingian family is the important link, which connects antient with modern history, Roman jurisprudence with the codes of the German tribes, and the law of civil obligation, with the law of tenure.

## TABLE V.

## THE EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF SUABIA.

1138—1254.



The principal events in the history of the latter princes of the Franconian line, and of all the princes of the Suabian line, were produced or influenced by **THE CONTESTS BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE EMPERORS**. The grounds of these contests were I. The Right claimed by the emperors of nominating to vacant bishopricks, and the form, by which they contended that bishops elect, should be invested with the temporal possessions of their sees: II. The claims of the popes to hold their antient Italian territories, independent of the emperors, and the disputes between the popes and the emperors, respecting the new acquisitions of the popes in Italy: and III. The claim of the popes to the supreme dominion of every part of the christian world, both in temporal and spiritual concerns.

## I.

I. 1. AS TO THE RIGHT OF NOMINATING TO VACANT BISHOPRICKS:—in the early ages of the church, bishops were elected at a congregation of the clergy and laity of the diocese. One or more of the neighbouring bishops presided at the election: the whole congregation elected, the bishops consecrated. If, on some occasions, the bishops did not acquiesce in the choice of the congregation, these were considered as extraordinary cases, in which the general rule was infringed.

In the reign of Constantine the Great, rank and wealth began to preponderate; the negative power of the bishops, from their exclusive right of consecration, and the general influence of the clergy, from the superior sanctity of their character, were more sensibly felt. In process of time, the emperor became lord of the ascendant; and, by degrees, little attention was paid

in the choice of bishops, either to the wishes of the clergy, or the wishes of the laity.

The election of the bishop of Rome was conducted in the same manner; but, on account of the superior importance of the see, it attracted more of the attention of the emperors, than the election of any other bishop.

On the division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius the first, all that concerned the bishop of Rome, devolved to the emperor of the west. After Justinian recovered Rome from the Vandals, it fell to the Greek emperor; and, on account of his distance from Rome, his rights on these occasions were exercised in his name, first, by the Proconsul of Italy, and afterwards by the exarch of Ravenna. On the restoration of the Roman empire of the west, in the person of Charlemagne, they devolved to him: and thus, in his time, the Roman pontiffs were raised to that dignity, by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accom-



panied with the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary to their consecration. Less attention was shewn to the authority of the emperor in the reign of the successors of Charlemagne; and, at length, it seems to have been wholly disregarded; but it was regained by Otho the Great, and uninterruptedly and exclusively enjoyed by him and his successors, at least till the time of pope Gregory the seventh.

The emperors exerted a less direct influence in the election of other bishops. About the eleventh century, the laity ceased to take a part in them, so that they were considered to belong wholly to the clergy. In the succeeding century, they were engrossed by that part of the clergy, which was attached to the service of the Cathedral church of the diocese, and which, from this circumstance, was, afterwards, called its chapter.

Something similar took place in the elec-

tion of the bishop of Rome. The seven bishops, who were attached to the city and territory of Rome, had long been called Cardinal Bishops: the ministers of the twenty-eight Roman parishes, or principal churches, were called Cardinal Priests. By an ordinance of a council held at Rome in 1159, pope Nicholas the second, confined the election of the bishops of Rome to the two orders of Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Clerks: still, he expressly acknowledged and confirmed the right of the emperor to ratify, by his consent, the election of the Pontiff; but, in the election of Alexander the second, this regulation was wholly disregarded.

Such, at the time of the accession of the Suabian dynasty, were the opposite claims to the right of nomination to vacant bishopricks.

I. 2. With respect to the mode of *Investing the Bishop elect with his temporal possessions*.—According to the law of tenure,

no person was considered the lawful, or even the actual, possessor of the tene-ment, till he had taken an oath of allegiance to the lord from whom he held it, and till he had received from the hand of his lord a solemn mark, by which the property comprised in the grant was transferred to him. This invested him with the seizin or legal ownership of the property. The ceremony was usually performed by presenting the tenant with a bough, or a piece of turf, or some other symbol of the property. When a bishop died, his ring and crosier were transmitted to the prince, within whose jurisdiction his diocese was situated: on the appointment of his successor, the prince presented them to him, as a symbolical delivery of the temporal possessions of the see: the bishop delivered them over into the hands of the metropolitan, and received them back from him, as a symbol of the spiritual rights conferred on him by his consecration.

It is evident, that the delivery of the ring and crosier, by the emperor to the bishop elect, though it was principally intended as a symbolic delivery of the tenements or temporal possessions of the see, operated, indirectly, as an appointment to the see, or at least as a Veto on any other appointment. Besides,—it too often happened, that the princes sold, or otherwise corruptly disposed of the vacant bishopricks; and, in this, they were assisted by the right claimed by them, of withholding the ring and crosier.

In this ceremonial three things gave particular offence to the Roman pontiffs, 1st, they considered it a spiritual ceremony, which it was, therefore, a sacrilege in a layman to perform;—but the spirituality of the ceremony it was difficult to prove:—2dly, they said it virtually deprived the clergy of their right of election; in answer to this, the prince might alledge that he represented the whole body of the people,

to whom the right of election primitively belonged:—and 3dly, it was said to facilitate the simoniacal traffic of benefices;—this was certainly the case, but it was rather an abuse of the ceremony, than an objection to the ceremony itself.

It is probable, that, if some person of weight had brought the popes and princes to a clear understanding of the rights claimed by them, their disputes might have been accommodated to their mutual satisfaction, either by substituting some ceremonial agreeable to them both, or by making each of them declare what he understood the ceremonial in use to import, and disclaim the opposite construction. Instead of this, the dispute involved the state and church, for more than a century, in the deepest calamities, and the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress.

I. 3. At length the matters in dispute were *amicably arranged*.

In respect to the right of nominat-

ing to Bishopricks,—it was finally settled, —in Germany, by the Concordate of 1447, which confirmed the election of bishops to the chapters exercising that right:—in France, by the Concordate of 1516, which vested the nomination to bishopricks, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class in the kings of France,—in Spain, by prescription, repeatedly allowed by the popes, under which the kings have uninterruptedly exercised the right of nominating bishops,—and in England, by the charter of king John, recognized and confirmed by his Great Charter, and by the 25th of Edward the Third, Stat. 6. § 3, which gave up to the chapters the free right of electing their prelates; but that statute is virtually repealed by the 25th of Henry the Eighth, c. 7, by which, the chapters, if they do not elect the person recommended by the king's letters missive, are subjected to the penalties of Pre-munire.

*As to the mode of investing Bishops elect with their temporalities:*—At a General Diet, held at Worms in 1122, it was settled, that bishops should be chosen by those to whom the right of election belonged, in the presence of the emperor or his ambassador; that, in the case of a dispute among the electors, the emperor should decide; and that the bishop should take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, and receive his temporalities from him by the delivery of the sceptre, and do the emperor homage for them. This convention was solemnly confirmed in the following year, at the council of Lateran. Speaking generally, this form of investiture has been adopted in every part of christendom.

## II.

IN RESPECT TO THE CLAIMS OF THE POPES TO HOLD THEIR ANTIENT ITALIAN TERRITORIES INDEPENDENT OF THE EMPERORS, AND THE DISPUTES OF THE POPES

WITH THE EMPERORS RESPECTING THE NEW PAPAL ACQUISITIONS IN ITALY,—in some former of these sheets, the gradual rise of the bishop of Rome, in his successive character of an unpropertied ecclesiastic,—of a trustee of some moveables and immoveables for the service of the church, and for purposes of charity,—of an owner of houses and farms,—of a magistrate,—and of a subordinate prince, with a considerable degree of temporal and territorial power and political influence, has been noticed. With *his* growth and *his* strength the general body of the clergy grew and strengthened. They first acquired for themselves and their successors, those private possessions which every citizen may enjoy; they were afterwards endowed with castles, fortresses, cities, provinces and other public grants, which are peculiar to sovereigns, to princes, and to the highest nobility. These, the Carlovingian monarchs bestowed on the clergy with a liberal hand. Their



aim was, through the medium of these grants, to civilize the barbarous countries over which they reigned; and to secure a numerous and respectable body of men, on whose loyalty and fidelity they could depend, in any contest with their overgrown vassals or turbulent subjects.

In the first of these objects, they partially succeeded; in the second, they wholly failed: as the clergy soon enlisted under the banners of the pope, in his quarrels with the emperor, and made it a common cause with him, to render themselves independent of the secular power.

Their next attempt was of a bolder kind. They asserted a right, both of spiritual and temporal power, over the emperor; and pretended that he held the empire as a fief or benefice from them. Their success in these attempts in a great measure answered their wishes. On the one hand, it became a fundamental maxim of jurisprudence, that the emperor acquired in the instant of

his election at the German diet, the kingdoms of Italy and Rome; on the other, this kingdom was merely nominal; and it became another maxim of jurisprudence, that the emperor could not legally assume the titles of Emperor or Augustus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the pope; and he was often obliged to purchase it by great sacrifices.

In the mean time, the pious munificence of the celebrated Mechtildis, countess of Tuscany, had enriched the holy see with considerable possessions. By two deeds of gift, she gave all the estates she was then possessed of, or might afterwards acquire, to the holy see. The principal of them were Tuscany, Spoleto, Parma, Placentia, and a considerable territory in Lombardy. She died without lineal heirs, and the emperor claimed them as an escheat: this was a fresh subject of contest between the popes and the emperors.

acquiesce in it, so far, at least, as to invoke it against his own antagonist; and, having once urged it against an antagonist, it was not always easy for him to deny the justice of it, when it was urged against himself. The contests respecting it were chiefly carried on with the German emperors. All Italy and Germany were divided between the adherents of the popes and the adherents of the emperors.

At the time, when these contests first commenced, the Guelphs of Altorf in Saxony, were among the most illustrious families in Germany. In several battles, in which a prince of that house commanded the Saxon and Bavarian troops against the emperor Conrad the third, the son of Frederick duke of Suabia, Guelph was the word of war with the former, and Weiblingen, the place where Frederick was born, was the word of war with the latter. Insensibly these words were used to denominate opposite parties; and by degrees all

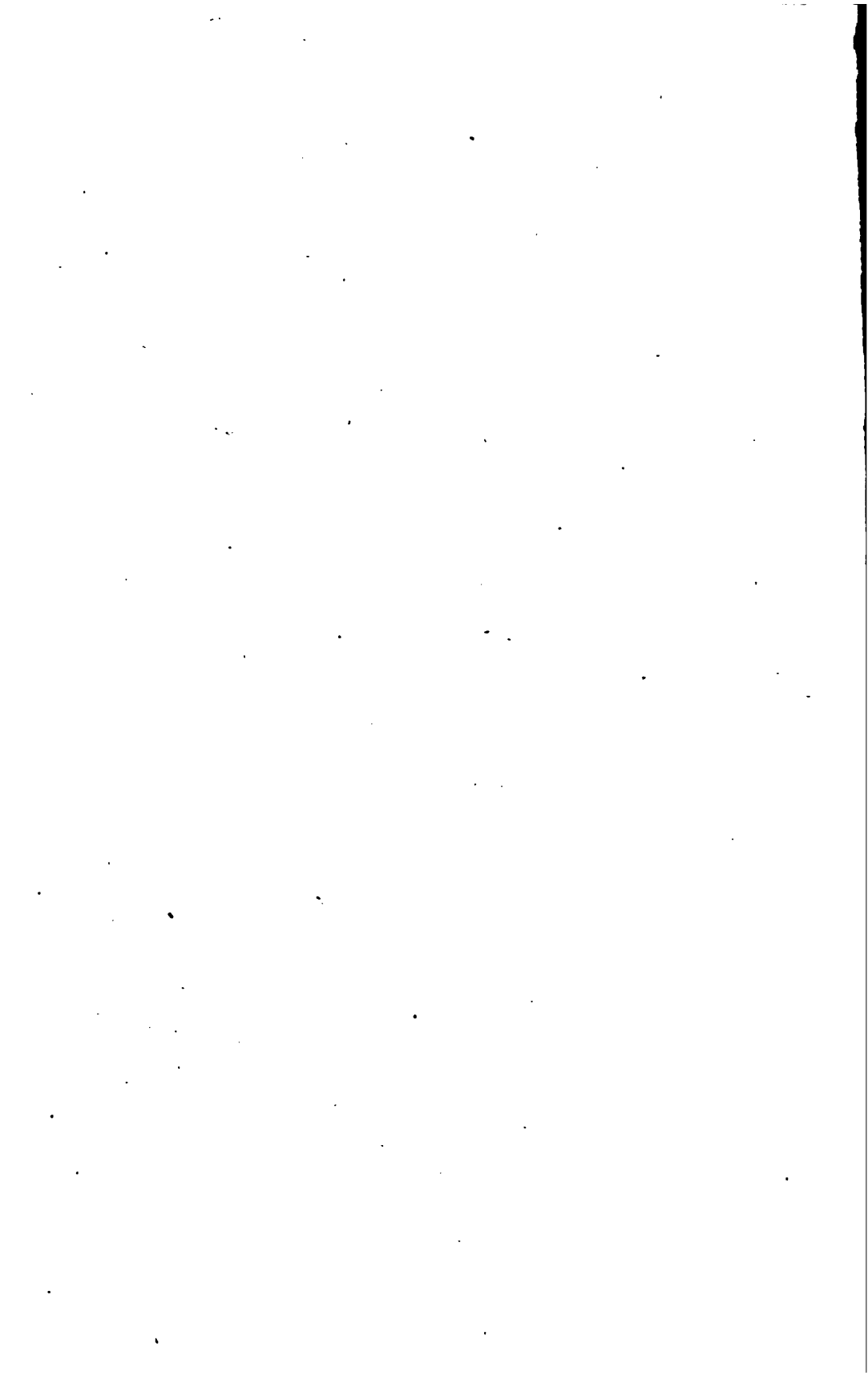
## III.

THE popes soon advanced a still higher claim: *In virtue of an authority which they pretended to derive from heaven, some of them asserted that the Pope was the supreme Temporal Lord of the universe, and that all princes, and civil governors, were, even in temporal concerns, subject to them.* In conformity to this doctrine, the popes took upon them to try, condemn, and depose sovereign princes; to absolve their subjects from allegiance to them, and to grant their kingdoms to others.

That a claim so unfounded and impious, so detrimental to religion, so hostile to the peace of the world, and apparently so extravagant and visionary, should have been made, is strange:—stranger still is the success it met with. There scarcely is a kingdom in christian Europe, the sovereign of which did not, on some occasion or other,

persons opposed to the emperor were called Welfts, and all his adherents were called Weiblingenites. These appellations continued to be used in the contests between the popes and the emperors, but the Italians softened them into *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*.<sup>f</sup>

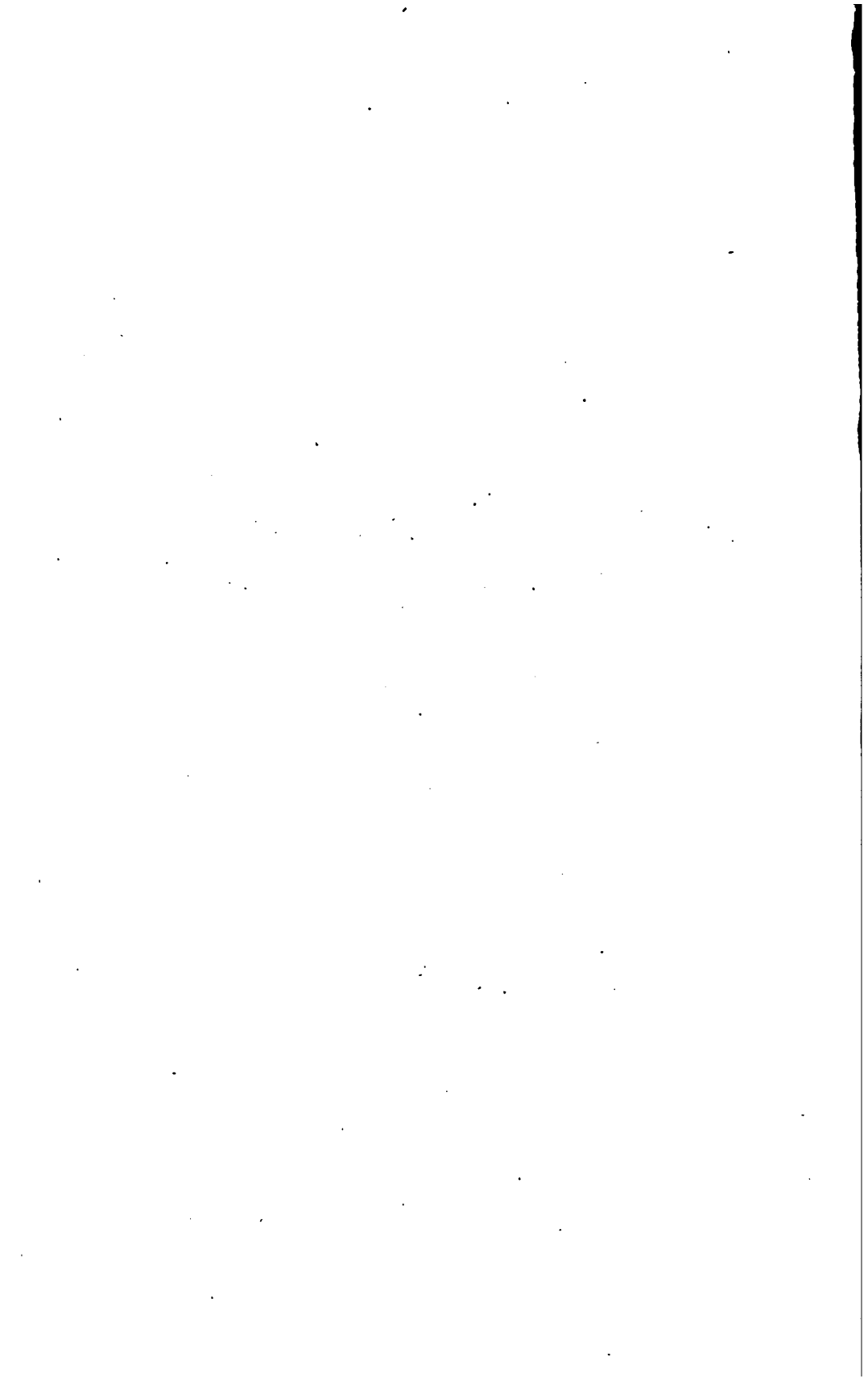
<sup>f</sup> IN this Section the writer has principally consulted the very learned work of Thomassin, "*Traité de la Discipline Ecclesiastique*, 3 vol. fol. 1725; — *Histoire de Charlemagne*, par M. Galliard, 4 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1782. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Doctor Maclaine, 5 vol. 8vo. London, 1774. What is said in the last of these works on the subject of investitures is particularly interesting; — Giannone's *Historia de Napoli*, 4 vol. 4to. Naples, 1723. On the celebrated Donation of the Countess Mechtildi's the writer particularly consulted the Abbé St. Marc's Dissertations on this subject in his *Abrégé Chronologique de l'histoire d'Italie*, 6 vol. 8vo. A short and clear account of the political views with which the Pragmatic Sanction of France was framed, is given by Mr. Roseoe, in his *Life and Pontificate of Leo the tenth*, vol. iii. p. 62—63.



## **PART IV.**

**Containing the Period of the German History, between the Extinction of the Suabian Dynasty, and the Election of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.**

**1254—1519.**





THE GREAT INTERREGNUM,  
1254——1272.

THE contests between the popes and the Princes of the House of Suabia reduced the Empire to a state of anarchy, which produced, what is generally called by the German writers, THE GREAT INTERREGNUM. During this period six princes claimed to be emperors of Germany.

1.

Henry Raspo, Landgrave of Thuringia; elected emperor in 1246, in opposition to Frederick II, + in 1248.

3.

Conrad IV, the last of the Suabian princes; he is mentioned in the preceding Table. (p. 67.)

5.

Alphonsus, son of Ferdinand III, king of Leon and Castile; elected the same year, as Richard; but he never came into Germany, or took the title.

2.

William Count of Holland; elected emperor in 1250, by another party; + in 1256.

4.

Richard, Duke of Cornwall; elected by some princes in 1257, quitted the empire in 1259.

6.

Premislaus, III. King of Bohemia, elected in 1272.

*The period between the first and last accession of  
the House of Habsburgh to the Empire.*

1272—1438.

The Interregnum was determined by *the election of Rudolph* count of Habsburgh. From him, till the ultimate accession of the House of Austria, the empire of Germany was held by the following emperors,

	Time of Election.
1. Rudolph, Count of Habsburgh . . .	1273
2. Adolph, Count of Nassau . . . . .	1292
3. Albert I. Archduke of Austria . . .	1298
4. Henry, Count of Luxemburgh . . .	1308
5. Lewis V. Duke of Bavaria . . . . .	1314
6. Charles, King of Bohemia . . . . .	1347
7. Winceslaus, King of Bohemia . . .	1378

8.	Time of Election.
Robert, Elector Palatine . . . . .	1400
9.	
Sigismond, King of Hungary . . . .	1410
10.	
Albert II, Duke of Austria . . . . .	1438

During the period between the last accession of the House of Habsburgh, and the election of Charles V, the empire of Germany was held by the following emperors.

1.	Time of Election.
Frederick III. . . . .	1440
2.	
Maximilian I. . . . .	1493
3.	
Charles V. . . . .	1519

The events, which claim particular attention in the history of this period, may be divided into those which relate to the Italian, and those which relate to the German territories of the emperor.

With respect to the first, the chief of them appear to be I. The rise of the Italian Republics, particularly Venice, Genoa, and Florence: the rise of the Princes of Savoy, and Milan, and the revolutions of Naples, and the two Sicilies: II. the commencement of the decline of the Pope's temporal power: and III. the state of the city of Rome.

### I.

ABOUT the middle of the twelfth century, *the towns of Lombardy and Tuscany availed themselves of the weakness of the emperors to form themselves into Republics*, but with an acknowledgment of feudal subjection to the emperor. Milan led the way, and was followed by Parma, Placentia, Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Como, Padua, Bologna, Pisa, and other towns. At first, the emperors connived at these innovations, with a view of weakening the power of their

immediate vassals: but Frederick Barbarossa undertook to reduce the towns to their original condition; and actually destroyed Milan, and dispersed its inhabitants. The other towns did not lose their courage; in 1162, they entered into a federal union of attack and defence. At the battle of Legnano, in 1176, they gave the emperor a check, which wholly disabled him from continuing his hostile measures against them; and a definitive treaty of peace between them and the emperor was signed at Constance in 1183.—This is the Treaty *de Pace Constantiæ*, generally published after the Novells, in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.—His son Frederick revived his pretensions; but the towns renewed their league, and baffled his attempts to subdue them.

Generally speaking, the nobles of Italy became members of the towns adjoining their possessions. Too often, an ambitious individual interrupted the peace of the community by his attempts to attract

to himself, in some form or other, the whole power of the state.

The rise of the republics of Venice,<sup>a</sup> Genoa,<sup>b</sup> and Florence,<sup>c</sup> of the Princes of<sup>d</sup> Savoy and Milan,<sup>e</sup> and of the kingdom of<sup>f</sup> Naples, is a curious subject of enquiry. It belongs rather to the history of Italy than to the history of Germany: its connexion with the latter is not, however, very remote; and therefore some account of the rise and first increase of some of these republics and principalities, and of the kingdom of Naples, will, therefore, be found in the notes.

<sup>a</sup> SEE Note IV.                      <sup>b</sup> See Note V.                      <sup>c</sup> See Note VI.  
<sup>d</sup> See Note VII.                      <sup>e</sup> See Note VIII.  
<sup>f</sup> See Note IX.

## II.

BUT the History of the German Empire is immediately connected with the History of the Papal Territories in Italy.

Something has been said on the rise and progress of the temporal power of the

popes. The beginning of the fourteenth century may be assigned for the æra of their highest elevation; as, about that time, their territorial possessions had their largest extent: they had then made their greatest progress in exempting the clergy from the civil power; and they then experienced least resistance to their general claim of divine right to temporal power. They might, therefore, at this time be thought to have secured the duration of their Temporal Empire:—from this period, however, it began to decline, and the causes of its decline are obvious.

1. On some occasions, *they carried their pretensions to a length which excited the disgust, and even provoked the resistance of the most timid.* The extravagant conduct and language of Innocent III, Boniface VIII, and Clement VI, in their contests with Philip Augustus, Philip the fair, and Lewis of Bavaria, gave general offence, and led several States of the kingdoms of Europe

to make strong declarations of the independence of their sovereigns on the see of Rome in all temporal concerns.

2. They were engaged in some *enterprizes* evidently *unjust*; and the lives of some of them were confessedly *dissolute*.

3. In the year 1309, the policy of the French king prevailed on the pope to *Translate his see to Avignon*: and, for a period of seventy years, that city continued the metropolis of christendom. This exasperated the Italians to the highest degree: they lost their personal affection for the pope, they called his residence at Avignon the captivity of Babylon, and filled Europe with their invectives against him.

4. An event then took place which was still more detrimental to the popes. Gregory the eleventh quitted Avignon, and established his residence at Rome; he died in 1378. The Italian cardinals chose a pope, who took the name of Urban the sixth, and fixed his seat in the city of Rome: the



French cardinals chose one, who took the name of Clement the seventh, and fixed his seat at Avignon. All christendom was divided between the popes; and *The Schism* continued from 1378 to 1417, when it was ended by the elevation of Martin the fifth. During the period of the schism two and sometimes three rival popes were wandering over christendom, dividing it by their quarrels; and scandalizing it by their mutual recriminations.

5. But nothing contributed so much to the decline of the Temporal Power of the Popes, as the *Discussions which took place at the councils of Constance, Basil, and Pisa, and the writings of several men of learning, particularly of the Parisian school*, who now began to discuss the papal pretensions to temporal power with temper and erudition.

6. A rougher attack was made on them by the Albigenses, Wicklefites, Waldenses, Lollards, and other heretics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It must be admit-

ted on the one hand, that they maintained several doctrines irreconcilable with those of the gospel, and subversive of the civil society; so that it is amazing the reformed churches should be so anxious to prove their descent from them; and on the other, that they brought charges against some Temporal Usurpations of the popes, and of churchmen, to which their advocates could make no reply.

The effect of these circumstances was, that the justice of the pretensions of the see of Rome to temporal power, by divine right, became much suspected; the antient canons were more attended to, and the limits of spiritual and temporal power were better understood.\*

\* THE general justice of this representation is acknowledged by the warmest and ablest advocates of the church of Rome. While, with every true Roman Catholic, they assert, that nothing can be wrong in the faith or worship of the church, and that the authority which the church, her supreme pastor, and her prelates received from Christ, always has been, and must ever be, un-

altered and unalterable : they admit, that, when Luther first made his attack on the church of Rome much reformation in the church, both in respect to the Head and the Members, was wanting in discipline and morals.—See the first pages of the celebrated *Variations*; particularly the extract in them from Cardinal Julian's Letter to Pope Eugenius IV, written nearly a century before the Reformation, in which he clearly predicts it, and its consequences.

A well written *Historia Reformationis ante Reformationem* (an expression familiar to the writers on the Continent), is much wanted. We are informed by the Editors of Beausobre's *Histoire de la Reformation*, (a valuable work), that something of the kind was found among his papers, with the title of *Preliminaires de la Réformation*; if it has been printed, it has not found its way to the London market.—The Abbé Barruel has promised the public an *Histoire du Jacobinisme du Moyen Age*: it is to be hoped he will execute his promise.

## III.

OF the Papal Territories,—(particularly in respect to the Subject of these sheets),—no part is of so much importance as THE CITY OF ROME. It is a remarkable circumstance, that during the time that the power of the popes was most formidable in every part of christendom, their authority at home was so inconsiderable, that, on many occasions, the city of Rome was polluted with sedition and murder, and the popes could not preserve themselves from the greatest indignities. The political heresy of Arnold of Brescia, not very unlike the Jacobinical doctrines of the present times, shook both the civil and ecclesiastical governments of Rome to their foundations. As soon as it was subdued, some measures were taken to establish good order in the dominions of the pope. For a considerable time, they produced the most salutary effects; but the

papal chair was no sooner moved to Avignon, than Rome was replunged into all its former disorders; and Italy, in general, began to entertain republican principles. Nicholas Rienzi, an eloquent and ambitious Roman, availed himself of this disposition of his fellow-citizens to make himself master of the city of Rome, under the popular name of Tribune. He spread terror over all Italy; and, if he had possessed discretion equal to his popular talents, he might have effected a complete revolution in the greatest part of the Italian territories:—for want of discretion he failed. The popes, however, did not regain their ascendancy, either in the city or in the other parts of their territories.

During the schism the tumults of Rome increased. With the elevation of Martin V, which terminated it, they appeared to subside; but they again broke out under Eugenius his immediate successor. Nicholas the fourth, the successor of Eugenius, a man

of talents and of a peaceful disposition, restored order to the ecclesiastical territories. During his reign, Frederick III. of Austria was crowned emperor at Rome: and he was the last emperor for whom the ceremony was performed in that city; so that his successors wholly rest their title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

To this period may be assigned the elevation of the Roman Nobles: the principal families of them are, confessedly, the Colonnas, Ursinis, Contis, and Savellis.

#### IV.

SUCH was the state of Italy during this period:—With respect to GERMANY,—its boundaries, the form of its government,—and the rise of its towns, particularly those which composed the Hanseatic League, are the chief subjects of consideration.

ITS BOUNDARIES were the Eyder and the sea on the north; the Scheld, the Meuse,

the Saone, and the Rhone on the west; the Alps and the Rhine on the south; and the Leith and the Vistula on the east.

This ample territory consisted of various provinces.

1st. The most important of them was *the Dutchy of Burgundy*:—it contained Savoy, the lesser Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiné, and Switzerland.

2nd. The next in importance, was the *Dutchy of Lorraine*:—besides the territory of Lorraine, properly called, it contained the Lower Lorraine, or the country between the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld;—the country of Holland and Zeeland;—the Dutchies of Brabant and Limburgh; the countries of Hanau, Flanders, Gueldres and Luxemburgh. The adjoining province of Friezeland was, in some measure, attached to Lorraine, but was neither subject to a Duke nor a Count.

3d. On the extinction of the Suabian Dynasty, the antient *Alemannia and Fran-*

*conia*, in which their possessions chiefly lay, were divided into various principalities.

4th. It has been observed, that, in the times of Cæsar and Tacitus, the Danube was the southern boundary of Germany. The irruption of the Franks carried it over Rhætia, Noricum and Pannonia. The greatest part of this new territory, since called *Bavaria*, was then called *Boioaria*, from the Boii.

5th. The original limits of *Saxony* have been mentioned: at this period of the German history, Saxony was divided by the course of the Weser, into the different denominations of the eastern and western Saxony; or, as the inhabitants of them were then called, in the language of the country, the Ost-fales Saxons and the West-fales Saxons. The country of the former was sometimes called Saxony on the Elbe; the country of the latter was sometimes called Saxony on the Weser. Under the general



name of Saxony, Misnia, Thuringia, and Hessa, were usually comprised.

6th. The *Slavic territory*, or the country between the Oder and the Vistula, was filled by the Margraves of Brandenburg and the Dukes of Poland and Bohemia. To the latter Moravia, Silesia, and Luzatia were generally vassals, or in a looser state of subjection.

7th. On the east of Saxony, were *Pomerania* and *Prussia*. They, generally, were in a state of warfare with some or other of the adjacent princes.

8th. On the east of Bavaria a considerable territory received the appellation of the *Marchia Orientalis*, or *Oost-rich* : it was afterwards called Austria.

## V.

**SUCH** were the territories of Germany.—  
In respect to the sovereigns by whom it was governed, none but the principal of them are the subject of the present enquiry. It has been observed, that, under the immediate successors of Charlemagne the empire was broken into innumerable principalities, and they were never re-united;

As to the **FORM OF ITS GOVERNMENT**, the empire was always elective; but great alterations took place in the mode of election. At first, the emperor was chosen by the people at large; the right of election was afterwards confined to the nobility and principal officers of the state; insensibly it was engrossed by the five great officers, the Chancellor, the Great-Marshal, the Great-Chamberlain, the Great-Butler, and the Great-Master. At first, they assumed the right of proposing the candidate to the ge-

neral body of electors; they afterwards confined the whole right of election to themselves. After much discontent this was settled, first, by the Electoral Union in the year 1337, and finally, in the reign of the emperor Charles the fourth, by the celebrated constitution, called, from the seal of gold affixed to it, the Golden Bull. By that, the right of election was fixed in four spiritual, and three temporal electors; on the Archbishop of Mentz, as Great-Chancellor of the empire in Germany; the Archbishop of Cologne, as Great-Chancellor of the empire in Italy; the Archbishop of Treves, as Great-Chancellor of the empire in the Gauls, and the kingdom of Arles; the King of Bohemia, as Great-Butler; the Count Palatine, as Great-Master; the Duke of Saxony, as Great-Marshal; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, as Great-Chamberlain of the empire. At subsequent periods, the duke of Bavaria and the duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh have been ad-

vanced to the electoral dignity; the former is stiled the Arch-treasurer, the latter, the Arch-standard-bearer of the empire.

These are the ancient Electoral families of Germany: some account of them will, therefore, be given in a note.\*—The fleeting forms of *the Minor Princes of Germany* is foreign to the subject of these sheets to trace; a general mention of them will be made in a note.†

\* SEE NOTE X.

† SEE NOTE XI.

## VI.

VI. 1. THE CITIES OF GERMANY deserve particular notice in this period of the German history;—their rise and progress to the end of the Saxon dynasty have been noticed. In the acquisition of independence they preceded the Italian republics; insensibly they became divided into the *Free Cities*, or those which held immediately of the emperor, and had seat and voice at

the diet:—the *Mixt Cities*, or those which had put themselves under the protection of some prince to whom they paid a quit-rent, but were not subject to his jurisdiction, and had neither seat nor voice at the diet;—and the *Municipal Cities*, which were entirely subject to the states.

VI. 2. *The Hanse-towns* deserve particular mention.—They were originally a confederacy of Towns, which in the thirteenth century united in alliance for the mutual support and encouragement of their commerce. The confederacy was first set on foot by the city of Bremen, and several seaport towns in Livonia. The advantages which they derived from the confederacy attracted other trading towns to it. At one time the confederacy reckoned eighty towns: they were divided into four classes; the Vandalic, over which Lubec presided, comprised the towns on the Baltic between Hamburg and Pomerania:—The Rhenanan, over which Cologne presided, com-

prised the towns on the Rhine:—the Saxon, over which Brunswick presided, comprised the towns in Saxony and Westphalia:—the Prussian, over which Dantzick presided, contained the towns of Prussia and Livonia.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lubec was considered as the head of the towns; the archives of the confederacy were kept, and its general assemblies were held in that town.

The League possessed factories and warehouses at Bruges, for their trade with Flanders; at London, for their trade with England; at Novogorod, for their trade with Russia; and at Bergen, for their trade with Norway.

Originally, the only objects of the Hanseatic confederacy were to secure their commerce against pirates and plunderers, and to extend it by peaceable and friendly communications; in the course of time they rose to such a degree of power as to engage in treaties with sovereigns, and even to carry

on offensive and defensive wars. This raised general jealousy, and the kings of France, Spain, and Denmark, and several states of Italy, forbade their towns to continue members of the confederacy. Upon this, the Teutonic Hanse-towns restricted the confederacy to Germany, and distributed its towns under four metropolitan towns, — Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick. Brunswick and Cologne afterwards separated from them; several towns followed their example, so that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the confederacy was almost wholly confined to the towns of Hamburgh, Lubec, and Bremen. They retained the appellation of Hanseatic towns, and claimed their former privileges. Under the appellation of Hanse-towns they were recognised at the peace of Utrecht in 1715, and at the Definitive Treaty of Indemnity in 1805;—almost the last moment of their political existence.

VI. 3. The Hanse-towns were robbed of

a considerable portion of their trade by *the Netherlands*. The wealth and splendour of the commercial towns in that country in the æra of their prosperity, placed the Dukes of Burgundy, their sovereigns, on a level with the greatest monarchs, and enabled their principal merchants to display such magnificence in their dress, their buildings, and their mode of living, as excited the envy of the noblest princes of Europe.—Bruges was their capital:—in 1310, it contained sixty-eight companies of traders and artificers; insurances and letters of change were in common use.

Doctor Robertson (in his *Historical Disquisition*, page 239), mentions, that, in the year 1301, Joanna of Navarre, the wife of Philip the fair, King of France, having been some days in Bruges, was so much struck with its grandeur and wealth, and particularly with the splendid appearance of the citizens' wives, that she was moved by female envy to exclaim with indigna-



tion, "I thought that I had been the only queen here, but I find that there are many hundreds more."

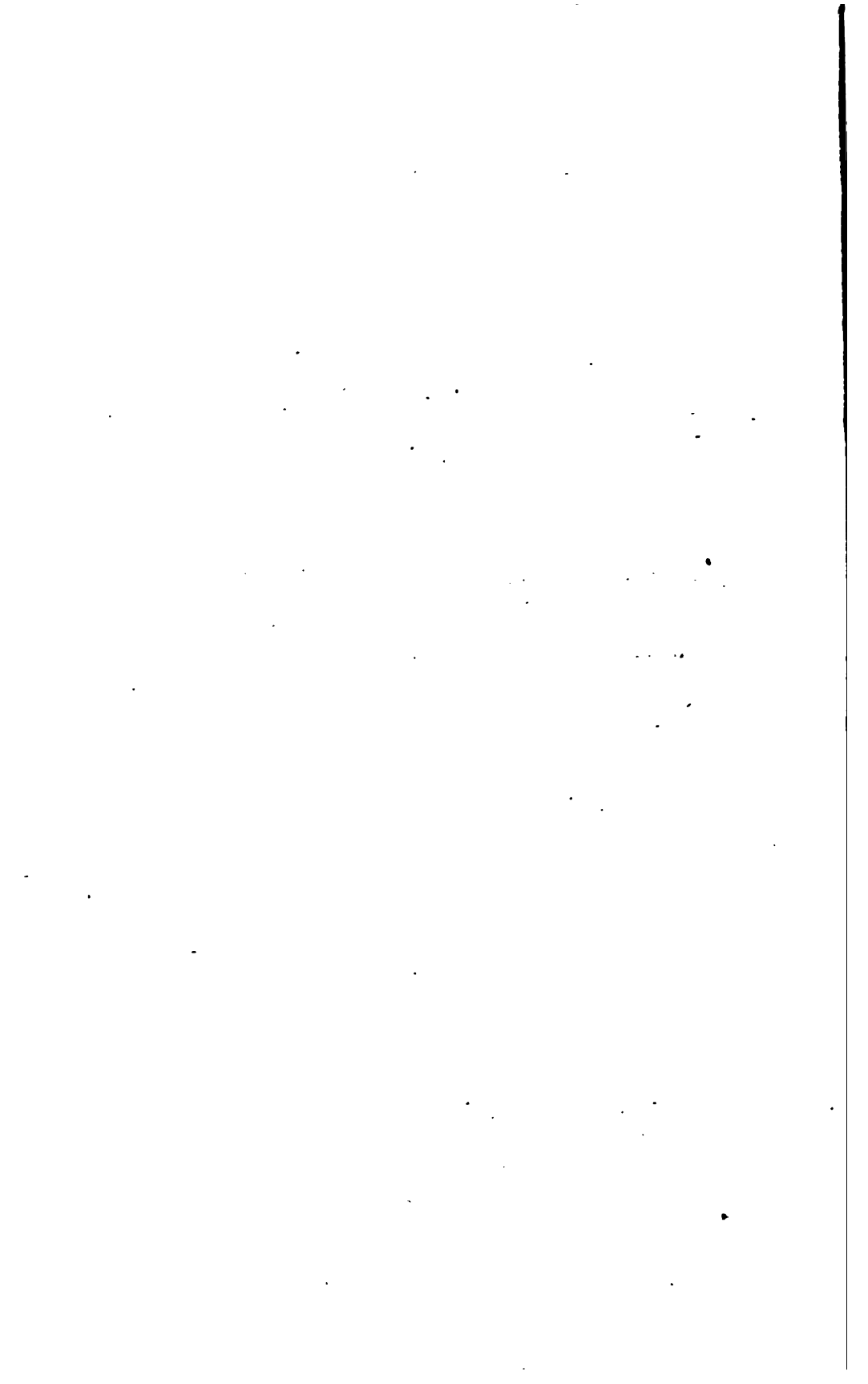
In consequence of a dispute with the emperor Maximilian, Bruges was deprived of a considerable part of its trade, and from that time the city of Antwerp took the lead in commerce; but taxes and imprudent regulations insensibly undermined the general trade of the Netherlands, and carried part of it to England, and the remainder into Holland. Few persons have seen, without surprise, the long and splendid line of towns between Ostend and Liege. When we consider, that they have survived their commerce for more than two hundred years, we may form some notion of the general populousness and magnificence of the territory and its inhabitants in the day of their prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SEE Doctor Robertson's *View of the Progress of Society in Europe*, prefixed by him to his History of Charles the Fifth; the *Historical Dis-*

*quisition concerning the Knowledge which the Antients had of India*, with which he so respectably closed his literary career; Guiccardini's *Description of the Low Countries*; and the elegant opening of Strada's *Historia de Bello Belgico*.—What is said on the Hanse-towns is chiefly taken from Mr. Anderson's *History of Trade and Commerce*; and Mr. Mallet's recent work *De la Ligue Hanseatique*, octavo. Geneve, 1805.

## **PART V.**

**Containing some Account of the Rise and Progress of  
the House of Habsburgh till its ultimate Accession  
to the Empire of Germany in 1438.**



## I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURGH is traced, with a high degree of probability, to Eticho, duke of Suabia and Alsace in 700; the patriarch both of the antient and modern House of Austria. Hugh, a descendant from him in the fourth degree, had two sons, Everard, the general parent of the House of Lorraine, and Guntram, the general parent of the House of Habsburgh. It is remarkable, that by the marriage of Maria-Theresia of Austria, with Francis of Lorraine, in 1745, the families, after a separation of ten centuries, were re-united. Guntram had considerable possessions in Alsace, Brisgau, and the Argau: his possessions in Alsace and Brisgau he forfeited, in consequence of his rebelling against the emperor Otho the first. Rudolph, the im-

mediate author of the high fortunes of the Habsburgh family, was about the tenth in descent from Guntram. His ancestors had become Counts of Surgau, Argau, Altemburgh, Kyburgh and Zaeringen, and Landgraves of all Alsace. Their castle of Habsburgh stood in the bailliwick of Argau, not far from the junction of the Aar and the Reuss. It commanded an extensive view of the eastern extremities of the Pennine Alps; and, from that position, derived its original appellation of Alpesburgh, afterwards contracted to Habsburgh. About the beginning of the eleventh century, it was rebuilt and considerably enlarged by Radfodus, a descendant from Guntram.

It appears that Rudolph of Habsburgh had, in his youth, an office in the household of Ottocar, king of Bohemia. At a more advanced age he commanded the military forces of the towns of Zurich and Strasburgh, and acquired the character of an honourable knight and an able general;

but neither the extent of his territories, nor his personal consequence, could lead him to expect the high rank to which he lived to see his house exalted.

His sister Elizabeth married Frederick, of the house of Hohenzollern, the founder of the royal house of Prussia. It certainly was not then foreseen, that the houses of Habsburgh and Hohenzollern should become the preponderating powers of Germany, and fill it, for centuries, with their civil and religious quarrels. X

At this period of its history the German empire was in its lowest state of anarchy; its princes lived in constant warfare with one another, and the people had no other means of protecting themselves against general oppression, than forming leagues and associations, or making themselves vassals to some neighbouring prince, who, however he might himself oppress them, would defend them against the oppression of others. This scene of public and private

confusion and calamity had continued so long, that every description of men anxiously wished an emperor might be chosen who should restore good order and government. The difficulty was to find a person capable of effecting so desirable an object, without possessing at the same time such a degree of power as would alarm the jealousy of the princes, and make them tremble for the security of their own usurpations. Such a person the electors thought they had found in Rudolph of Habsburgh: he was accordingly elected king of the Romans on the 30th of September 1273, and, soon afterwards, crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. Ottocar, his former master, had, during the anarchy of the empire, seized the province of Austria, a fief held of the emperor by the counts of Tyrol: Rudolph summoned him to restore it and do homage for his possessions. Ottocar received the summons with indignation: "What does Rudolph want?" he used to say; "I have



“paid him his wages.” Rudolph marched his army into Austria, vanquished Ottocar, and insisted on his rendering him homage. It was agreed between them, that the ceremony should be performed, under cover, in a tent. It took place in an island on the Danube; and the hostile armies were ranged along the opposite banks of the river. Ottocar, according to the usual form, was placed at the knees of Rudolph, with his hands inclosed in the emperor’s;—on a sudden, the tent was drawn up, and exposed the triumph and humiliation of the chiefs to their troops. Ottocar renewed the war, and lost his life and all his territories. Rudolph restored Bohemia to the son of Ottocar; but retained the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia. Of right, they belonged to Mainhard count of Tyrol, from whom they had been usurped by Ottocar. Rudolph made over Carinthia to him on condition of a marriage between their children, Albert, the son of Rudolph,

and Elizabeth, the daughter of Mainhard. The marriage took place: Mainhard left no issue male; and thus Albert acquired, by marriage, Carinthia and the Tyrol, and a right, by heirship, to Austria, Styria, and Carniola. From the time of Rudolph's conquest he quitted the appellation of Habsburgh, and called himself **RUDOLPH** of **AUSTRIA**. He had several sons: by his letters patent he raised Austria to the dignity of an Arch-duchy, and granted to the Arch-dukes the right of creating counts and other nobility, and of imposing taxes.

Such were the foundations of the house of Habsburgh. It was the object of Rudolph to perpetuate the empire in his family; but, on his decease, Adolphus count of Nassau was elected emperor. On the death of Adolphus, Albert, the first son of Rudolph, was elected emperor. Upon his decease a prince of the house of Luxemburgh was chosen emperor, and it was not till Albert the second (the ninth in suc-

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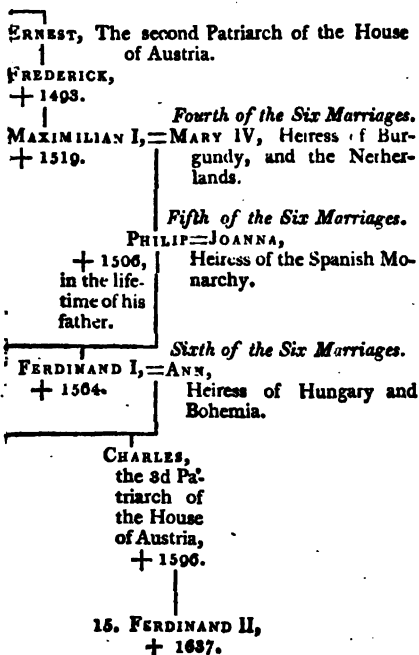
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e, till the Division of the  
*Six happy Marriages*,—and

*Marriages.*

1, Heiress of Ferrette in Alsace.



cession from Rudolph) that the empire returned to the Habsburgh family. He was succeeded by Frederick the third; and Frederick confirmed to his family the arch-ducal title, which had before been conferred on it by Rudolph. Maximilian succeeded Frederick. He had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand: the former is considered to be the patriarch of the Spanish branch, and the latter is considered to be the patriarch of the German branch of the house of Austria.

## II.

IN this period of the history of the princes of the house of Austria, nothing is so remarkable as THEIR FORTUNATE MARRIAGES. Six, in particular, have attracted the attention of historians: they have given rise to the celebrated distich,—

*“ Bella gerant alii! Tu, felix Austria, nube !*

*“ Nam, quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regnâ, Venus.”*

By the foregoing table it appears that Rudolph of Habsburgh is the founder of the arch-ducal family of Austria, and the First Patriarch of that house. On the decease and failure of issue of Albert, the fifth Archduke of that name, the resort was to his uncle Ernest: this makes Ernest its Second Patriarch. On the decease and failure of issue of Maximilian the second, the archducal title descended to Ferdinand the second, whose father was Charles the son of Ferdinand the first: this makes the Charles, of whom we are speaking, the Third Patriarch of the Austrian family.

The table also shews their six fortunate marriages;—that of Albert the first, with the heiress of Carinthia and the Tyrol;—that of Albert the second, with the heiress of Ferrette in Alsatia;—that of Albert the fifth, with the heiress of Bohemia and Hungary;—that of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy, and the Netherlands;—that of Philip the fourth with the heiress of

Spain, Naples, and Sicily; and that of Ferdinand the first, with the heiress of Bohemia and Hungary, which restored those kingdoms to the house of Austria, from which, after their former acquisition of them, they had past into another family.

Of these, the marriage of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy and the Netherlands, is the most remarkable. Mention has been made of the kingdom of Burgundy: the dutchy and county of Burgundy must be distinguished from it, and from each other. Both of them centered in Charles the bold; and he also inherited the possessions of the dukes of Lower Lorraine and Brabant of the earls of Flanders and the counts of Hainault. Mary, his daughter and heiress, married Maximilian the first.—On the death of Charles the bold, Lewis the eleventh of France, seized on Burgundy, as an escheat for want of a male heir, and united it, for ever, to the king-

dom of France; but Mary was permitted to carry the rest of her dominions into the house of Austria. The seizure of Burgundy by Lewis the eleventh, was sometimes the real, and sometimes the ostensible cause of wars, which, with little interruption, lasted from the time of Maximilian's marriage to the middle of the last century.— Lewis the fifteenth, being at Bruges in 1745, exclaimed, on seeing the Mausoleum of Charles the bold, and Mary of Burgundy,— “ Behold the cradle of all former wars.”

Besides those acquisitions by marriage, the house of Austria, during this period, obtained, by other means, a large increase of territories, particularly the Brisgau, near Freyburgh, by gift from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria in 1330, and the Burgau and some other districts in Suabia, under the emperor Maximilian the first, in 1505.



## III.

ONE of the most important events in the history of the Habsburgh family, during this period, is THEIR UNSUCCESSFUL CONTEST WITH THE SWISS.

Nature herself has fixed the boundaries of Switzerland: separating her from Germany by the Rhine; from Italy by the Alps and the Rhone, and from France by the Jura.

The Ambrones filled the territory on the Rhone; the Tigurenses, the territory between Zurich and the Rhine; the Tugeni, a territory of which Zug was the capital; and the Verbigenses, between the Aar and the Reuss.

The Swiss are first known in history by the name of Helvetii; frequent mention of them is made in the account of the irruption of the Cimbri. About fifty-seven years before Christ, they were subdued by Julius Cæsar: he annexed Helvetia to the Celtic Gaul: Augustus took it from the Celtic, and annexed it to the Belgic. In 69, Vitellius divided Helvetia into two prefectures, divided from each other by the Retuss.

About the end of the fourth century, the whole nation was almost extirpated by the Alemanni, and those in 496, were expelled by Clovis.—The country was occupied by the Franks, and made a part of the Francic kingdom till 888, when, upon the death of Charles the fat, it was seized by Raoul, and annexed by him to the Transjuranan Burgundy. With the other part of that kingdom, it was united to the empire of Germany by Conrade the second. On the

dismemberment of the empire a considerable portion of it became a part of the possessions of the dukes of Zeirenghen, a noble family, which took its name from the castle of Zeirenghen, in the Black forest near the Treysa. Next, but much inferior to them in power and influence, were the counts of Burgundy, Savoy, Habsburgh, and Kyburgh. On the extinction of the house of Zeirenghen, Switzerland became an immediate province of the empire, and was divided into many ecclesiastical and secular states. Several noble families, among whom the house of Habsburgh was particularly distinguished, had large territorial possessions in this country. The towns of Zurich, Soleure, Basil, and Berne, were imperial towns; the inhabitants of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwald, were governed by their own magistrates; but justice was administered, at least in criminal cases, by officers appointed by the emperor, and

called Avoyers. The emperor Rudolph conducted himself, in their regard, with justice and moderation; Albert, his son, formed the design of bringing them to a total subjection to his family, and erecting them into a principality for one of his sons. In 1315, the Cantons of Uri, Schweitz and Underwald, confederated to assert their freedom, and thus laid the foundations of the celebrated Helvetic confederacy. In 1332, they were joined by Lucerne; in 1351, by Zurich and Glaris; in 1352, by Zug; in 1481, by Berne, Freyburgh, and Soleure; in 1501, by Basle and Schaffausen; and in 1513, by Appenzell. These thirteen towns, and the territories attached to them, form the republic of Switzerland: she ranked next to Venice.

With invincible perseverance, after sixty pitched battles, they secured their liberty: the Austrians were wholly expelled from Helvetia, and the castle of Habsburgh, the

original seat of the Austrian family, was  
rased to the ground.

## IV.

ANOTHER event of importance in this period of the history of the Habsburgh family, is the INVASION OF ITALY BY CHARLES THE EIGHTH OF FRANCE.

It will appear in the Notes, that the French princes of the house of Anjou had a claim to the kingdom of Naples, and that it was made over by Charles of Anjou to Lewis the eleventh. By that monarch it was disregarded; but his son Charles the eighth attempted the conquest of Naples. At the head of an army of twenty thousand men, and with an immense train of artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores, he crossed the Alps: as he advanced, Florence, Pisa, and Rome, submitted to him: he took quiet possession of Naples, and, for a time, gave law to every part of Italy. But he lost his new kingdom in as little time as he had spent in gaining it: the pope, the emperor Ferdinand of Arragon, Isabella of

Castile; and the Venetians, joined in a league against him: he obtained a victory over them; but it was of no other use than to open to him a safe passage into his own territories. In a few months he was stripped of all his conquests, and the troops he had left to guard them were entirely expelled from Italy.

He died soon after, leaving no child; the duke of Orleans succeeded to the throne of France by the title of Lewis the twelfth. By him the conquest of Naples was repeatedly attempted without success. These wars first introduced, among the sovereigns of Europe, the idea of that great object of modern politics, a balance of power: it amounts to a tacit league, which is understood to be always subsisting, for the prevention of the inordinate aggrandizement of any one state.

## V.

THE other event of importance in this period of the Habsburgh annals, is the *Rivalship which then first broke out, and which has subsisted till our times, between Austria and France.*

Among the six fortunate marriages of the house of Austria, we have mentioned that of Maximilian with Mary the heiress of Burgundy; and that of Philip, Archduke of Austria, with Jane, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the heiress of the Spanish monarchy. Philip died in the life-time of the emperor Maximilian, his father, leaving two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. Maximilian died in 1519. Thus, in the right of Mary, his grandmother, Charles was sovereign of those possessions of the house of Burgundy which had not been usurped by France; in the right of Joanna, his mother, he was sovereign of the



whole Spanish monarchy; and, in the right of his father, he was Archduke of Austria.

By the death of the emperor Maximilian, his grandson, the empire of Germany became vacant. Charles aspired to it; Francis the first entered the lists against him. Each pursued the contest with eagerness and ability. It was finally decided by the unanimous vote of the electoral college in favour of Charles. This preference shewn to his rival, in the face of all Europe, mortified Francis in the highest degree; from this æra the rivalry between Austria and France may be dated.

## VI.

ANOTHER important event in this period of the history of Germany, is *the Division of the Territories of the Empire into Circles*.

The first division of Germany was into its Upper and Lower, or the Southern and Northern States, considering it as intersected by a supposed line, drawn easternly

from the mouth of the Mayn. A subsequent division of it was made by its rivers, so that it was considered as parcelled into the countries severally bordering on each side of the Danube, the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Oder.

But these were rather geographical than political divisions of the country. With a view of forming certain generalities or large territories, consisting of different states, which, on account of their nearness to each other, might conveniently assemble, either to regulate their common concerns, or enforce the general laws and ordinances of the empire, Maximilian the first divided all Germany into ten parts, or the Circles of Bavaria, Franconia, Suabia, the lower Saxony, the lower Rhine, Westphalia, Austria, Burgundy, the upper Saxony, and the upper Rhine.—The Circle of Burgundy comprised the High Burgundy, or Franche-comté, and the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries; but this Circle was now

completely dismembered from the empire, so that the number of Circles was reduced to nine.

## VII.

ANOTHER important event in this period of the history of Germany, is the *Final Settlement of its Political Constitution*. It forms a body, of which the Emperor is the head, the States are the Members.

1. We have seen, that during the Carolingian Dynasty the empire was hereditary; and that, on the extinction of that Dynasty, the empire became, and has since continued elective. It is generally said, that during that Dynasty, and for some time after, the empire was altogether monarchical: this must be understood with a considerable degree of restriction; and, at all events, since Frederick II, the government has been partly monarchical, and partly aristocratic, the emperor being absolute in some instances, while, in others, his acts must have

the consent of all the states of the empire.

2. The States are divided into three classes,—the College of Electors, the College of Ecclesiastic and Secular Princes, and the College of Imperial Towns; this division was finally established at Francfort in 1580. Their meeting is called a Diet. The Emperor is seated on a throne; the electors of Mentz, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, on his right hand, the Electors of Cologne and Saxony, and the Elector Palatine on his left, and the Elector of Triers opposite to his person,

The Ecclesiastical Princes are seated on benches to his right; the Secular Princes are seated on benches to his left; the Deputies of the Imperial Towns are seated on two benches which cross from the right to the left; one of these benches is filled by the Deputies from the Imperial Towns on the Rhine, the other by the Deputies from the Towns in Suabia,

The three Colleges deliberate apart. When they are agreed on any point, and the emperor consents, it becomes a resolution of the empire; but, if the three colleges are not united, or the emperor refuses his consent to it, the measure drops.

As soon as the Diet breaks up, the Emperor publishes, in his name, a recess or minute of the resolutions passed at it; exhorts the States to see them carried into execution; and orders the tribunals to conform to them.

### VIII.

ANOTHER important event in this period of the History of Germany, is the establishment of *The Imperial Chamber and the Aulic Council* by Maximilian I.—The Imperial Chamber was fixed at Worms in 1495; it was removed to Spire in 1533, and to Westlar in 1696, where it is now held. The president of it is appointed by the Emperor; the assessors, by the States: it has

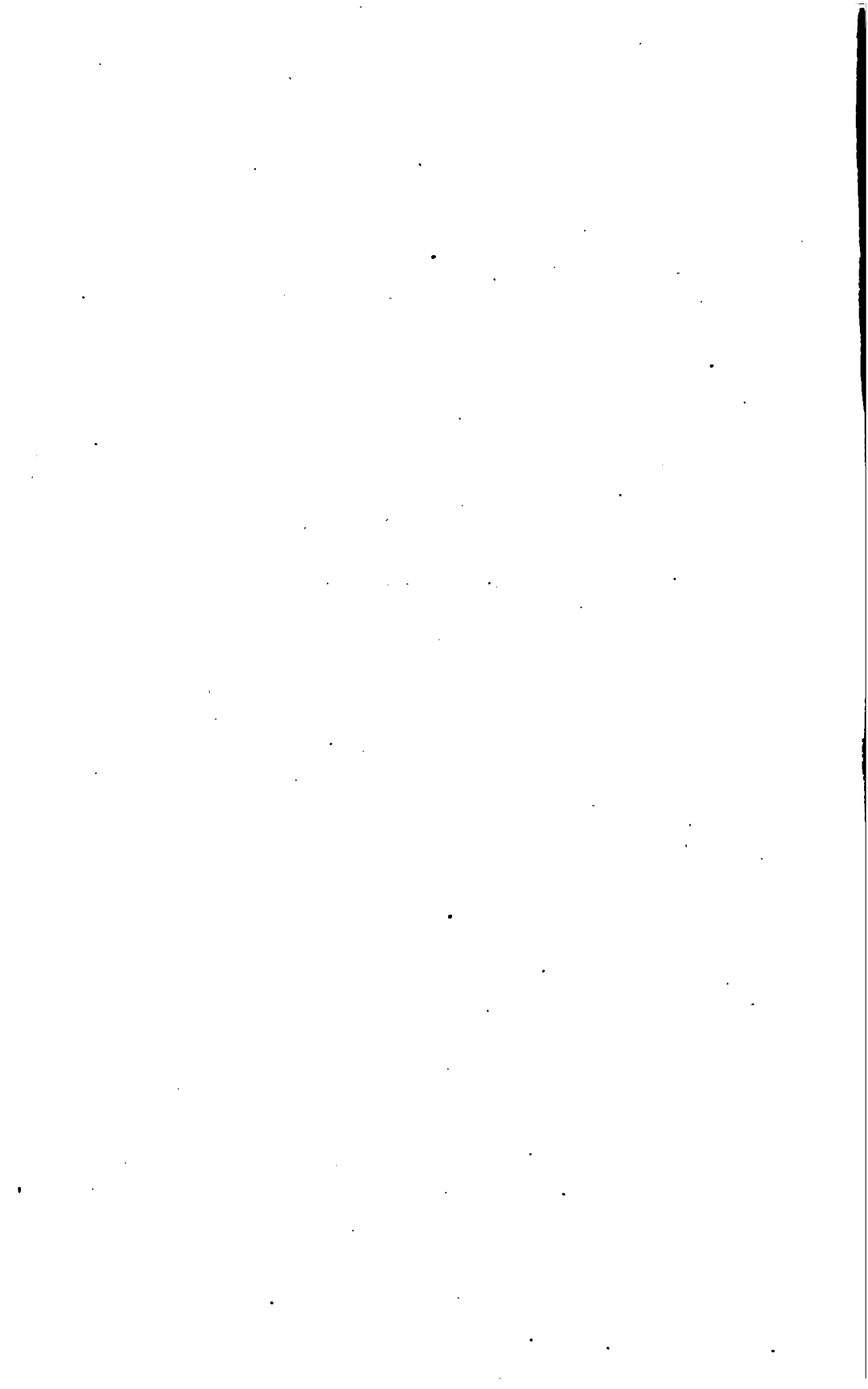
always been viewed by the Emperors with jealousy; and, soon after its institution, Maximilian prevailed on the States to permit him to revive his Court Palatine, or, as it is generally called, the Aulic Council. With some exceptions, each of these courts has equal jurisdiction; there is no appeal from one to the other, so that the dernier resort from both must be to the Diet. During the vacancy of the throne, the powers of the Aulic Council are suspended; but the Imperial Council acts under the Vicars of the Empire. From its superior activity, and the general superior ability of its Judges and Advocates, the Aulic Council has engrossed almost the whole of the business, not specially reserved to the cognizance of the Imperial Council.\*

\* THUS far the writer had the assistance of *Tableau des Revolutions de L'Europe Dans le Moyen Age*, par M. Koch, Strasburgh, 2 vol. 8vo. 1790, and found it of the greatest use.

## **PART VI.**

**The Division of the House of Habsburgh into its  
Spanish and German Lines, till the final Extinc-  
tion of the latter in the House of Lorraine.**

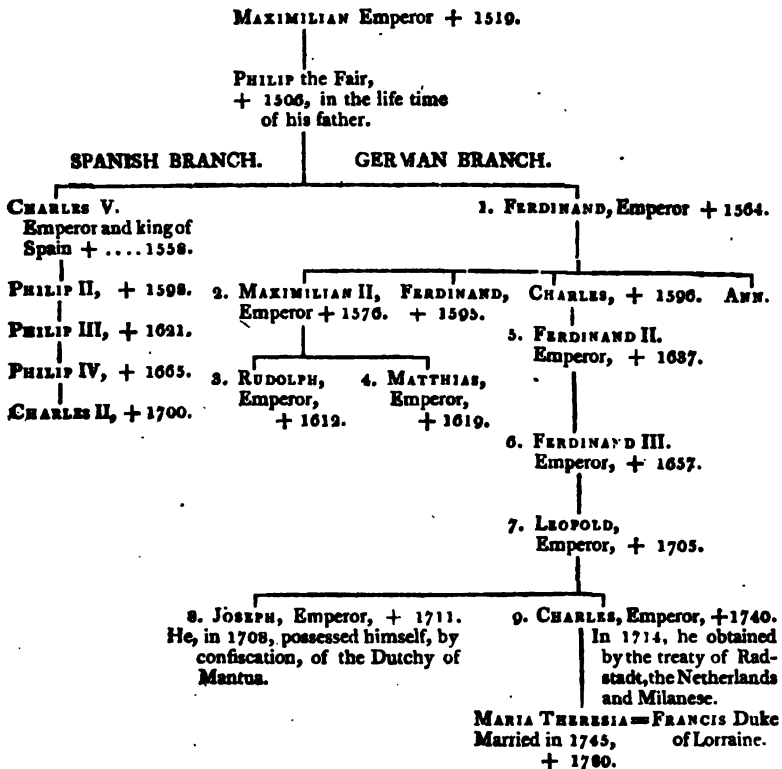
**1558—1745.**





The following Table shews the Division of the House of Habsburgh into its Spanish and German Branches.

TABLE VII.



THE principal events in the history of Germany during this period, are

	Began.	Ended.
The war of thirty years .....	1618....	1648
The war for the succession of Spain	1700....	1713
The war for the succession of Poland	1733....	1735
The war for the succession of Austria	1740....	1748

The subject naturally leads to a consideration of the projects which have been made at different times for the re-union of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches; and the final decline of the Pope's temporal power.

## I.

THE WAR OF THIRTY YEARS was principally owing to the religious disputes of the sixteenth century. Very soon after Luther's first attack on the see of Rome, the Reformation was established in Saxony, Livonia, Prussia and Hesse-cassel; in several Imperial Towns; in Friezeland and Holland, in several of the Swiss Cantons,

in Pomerania, Mecklenburgh, Anhalt, Sweden, Demark, Norway, England, and Scotland. Its progress in the empire is particularly connected with the subject of these sheets.

At the diet of Augsburg in 1530, the protestant princes of Germany delivered their confession of faith; and afterwards, at Smalcald, entered into an offensive and defensive league against the emperor. Being sensible that they were unable to resist him, they engaged the French monarch in their cause. At first the emperor was victorious; but a new league was formed; France then took a more active part in favour of the confederates, and the contest ended in the peace of Passau in 1552, where the parties, for the first time, treated as equals, and the free exercise of the Lutheran religion was allowed. Things remained quiet during the reign of Ferdinand the first and Maximilian the second; but in consequence of the disputes which

arose on the succession to the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, the religious differences broke out with fresh animosity;—the protestant princes formed a confederacy called the *Evangelical Union*, and placed at its head the Elector Palatine; the Catholics formed a confederacy called the *Catholic League*, and placed at its head the Duke of Bavaria. In the year 1618, they burst into open war: every state in Europe, and even the Ottoman princes, at one time or other, took a part in this war. France was the soul of the protestant cause; she assisted it with her armies, and her subsidies:—it may be truly said, that if there be a Protestant state from the Vistula to the Rhine, or a Mahometan state between the Danube and the Mediterranean, its existence is owing to the Bourbon monarchs.

During the thirty years, for which the war lasted, Germany was a scene of devastation: it ended in 1648, in the peace of Westphalia. France and the protestant

princes dictated its terms; the Swedes were indemnified for their charges of the war by Pomerania, Stetin, Rugen, Wismar, and Verden; the house of Brandenburg obtained Magdeburgh, Halberstad, Minden, and Camin; Alsace was conquered and retained by France; Lusace was ceded to Saxony.—The history of this war has been ably written by father Bougeant; some critics have pronounced it to be the best historical work in the French language.

## II.

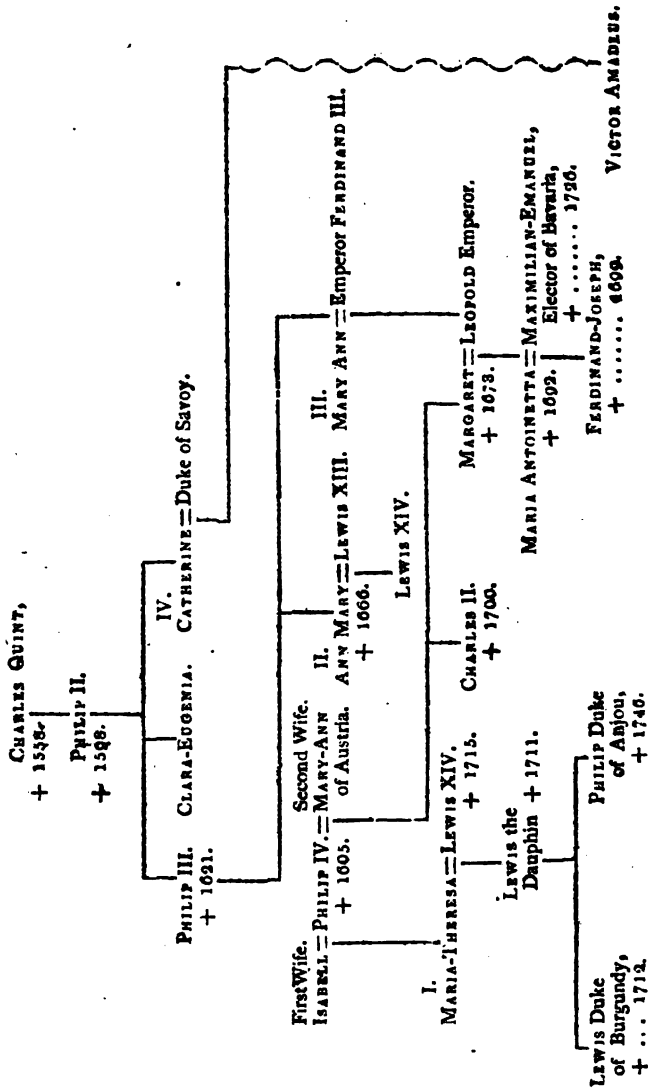
THE WAR FOR THE SUCCESSION OF SPAIN began in the year 1700, on the death of Charles the second.

Philip the fourth, the father of Charles the second, was twice married. His first wife was Isabel or Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the fourth of France. By her he had a daughter, Maria-Theresa, the wife of Lewis the fourteenth; his second wife was Mary-Ann, the daughter of the emperor

Ferdinand: by her he had Charles the second, his immediate successor, and Margaret, the wife of the emperor Leopold. Lewis the fourteenth had issue by Maria-Theresa, Lewis the dauphin: he died in his father's life-time, leaving issue Lewis, the celebrated duke of Burgundy, and Philip the duke of Anjou. The issue of Leopold by Margaret was Maria-Antoinetta, who married Maximilian-Emanuel, the elector of Bavaria, by whom she had issue Ferdinand-Joseph. These descents and the times of the deceases of the persons mentioned in them, will appear from the following table.

The persons from whom the pretendants to the Spanish succession made their claims, are marked in it by a large Roman numeral over their names.

TABLE VIII.



Charles the second, by his will, bequeathed his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou and his heirs male, on this special condition, that the crowns of France and Spain should never unite in them; failing this line of heirs, he limited the succession to the Duke of Berry, and his heirs male, on the same condition: failing those, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs male, on a similar condition, that the empire and the crown of Spain should never unite in them; and, failing that line, to the Duke of Savoy.

If Charles the second had a right to dispose of his dominions by his will, the claim of the duke of Anjou was incontestible: if he had not that right, they belonged to the person who could make a title to them by a prior gift or by heirship.

1. The first Pretendant was the Dauphin:—there having been a total failure of issue of Margaret, the younger sister of Charles the second, and the English exclusion of



half blood from inheritance being wholly unknown in the law of Spain, the claim of the Dauphin as son and heir of Maria-Theresa, the wife of Lewis the fourteenth, would have been indisputable, if, upon her marriage, she had not, by a solemn act, executed with the approbation of the court of Madrid, renounced her pretensions to the throne of Spain.

2. If that branch were excluded, and primogeniture allowed in the succession of females to the crown of Spain, the next resort was to Lewis the fourteenth as son and heir of Ann-Mary, the eldest daughter of Philip the third, and the wife of Lewis the thirteenth. To him a similar renunciation of Ann-Mary was objected.

3. The next resort was to the emperor Leopold, as great grandson and heir of Mary-Ann, the youngest daughter of Philip the third, and the wife of the emperor Ferdinand the third. He urged two other titles; one, as heir male of Ferdinand, the

brother of Charles the fifth, to whom and to whose male posterity, in default of issue male of Charles the fifth, he contended the crown of Spain ought to revert, in consequence of a family settlement executed by Charles the fifth and Ferdinand, which, on failure of issue male of one, limited the succession to the issue male of the other of them;—his other title arose from a settlement alledged by the emperor to have been executed by Philip the fourth, by which, on failure of issue male of his body, Philip the fourth had limited the succession to Mary-Ann his sister.

4. The descendants of Catherine the dutchess of Savoy formed the fourth class of pretendants; they founded their claim on a settlement supposed to be executed in her favour by Philip the second, or by Charles the fifth, or by both of them.

Such were the claims of the different competitors for the Spanish succession.

The war which they occasioned lasted

till the year 1713. So far the event of it was favourable to the house of Bourbon, that Philip the duke of Anjou was seated on the throne of Spain, and was allowed to retain the Spanish possessions in America: but the other possessions of Spain were dismembered. The house of Austria had the Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, and Sardinia: Savoy received the eventual succession of Sicily, exchanged seven years after for Sardinia; England acquired Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland; and Holland obtained a barrier of strong towns in the Netherlands to secure her against France.

### III.

THE WAR FOR THE SUCCESSION OF POLAND arose from the dethronement of Augustus the king of Poland, by Charles the twelfth; and by his causing Stanislaus Levinski to be elected king of Poland in the place of Augustus. After the defeat

of Charles the twelfth at Pultowa, Augustus re-ascended the throne; Stanislaus escaped from Poland in disguise; and, for some years, lived in exile and in great want. Lewis the fifteenth married his daughter; and, on the decease of Augustus, caused Stanislaus to be re-elected. Russia, Austria, and the empire in general, supported Augustus: France, Spain, and Sardinia, supported Stanislaus. The war began in 1735, and ended in two years. Augustus, the son of the deceased king, obtained the throne of Poland; Stanislaus recovered his patrimony; was allowed to retain the title of King, and Lewis the fifteenth assigned to him Lorraine for his residence: the duke of Lorraine was sent into Tuscany, which, together with Parma, was taken from Spain, whose king, Philip of Anjou, had married the heiress of these two duchies. Don Carlos, the eldest son of that marriage, was indemnified by the crowns of Naples and Sicily, with this special condition, that they

should never be united to that of Spain; and the king of Sardinia gained several districts in the Milanese.\*

\* IN this section, two works have been particularly followed, *Elémens d'Histoire Générale, seconde partie*, of the Abbé Millot; and the *Droit public* of the Abbé de Mably.

## IV.

DURING the whole war of thirty years, and at different times during the remainder of the period now under consideration, Germany was a scene of devastation. In almost every part of it, the ravages of advancing and retreating armies were repeatedly experienced; many of its finest towns were destroyed; whole villages depopulated; large territories laid waste. Much of this was owing to the contest of Austria and France for power, much to religious animosity.

A view of the fatal effects which this animosity has produced in the christian world, has often made wise and peaceful men endeavour to *reunite all denominations of christians in one religion*. With this view, at an early period of the reformation, *Melancthon* formed his celebrated distinction of the

points in dispute between Roman Catholics and Protestants, into the Essential, the Important, and the Indifferent:—in a later period of the reformation, Grotius, the most learned man of his age, employed the last years of his life in projects of religious pacification: towards the end of the seventeenth century, a correspondence for the reunion of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches was carried on between *Bossuet* on one side, and *Leibnitz* and *Molanus* on the other: it may be seen in the Benedictine edition of the works of *Bossuet*, and Mr. Dutens's edition of the works of *Leibnitz*. In the beginning of the last century, a similar correspondence for the reunion of the Roman Catholic and English churches, was carried on under the direction, or at least with the connivance, of *Cardinal de Noailles* and *Archbishop Wake*: a full account of it is inserted in the last volume of *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*. With a view of facilitating this re-

union, Doctor Courayer wrote his *Discourse on the Validity of English Ordinations*. A curious history of the controversy to which that treatise gave rise, is contained in *Commentatio historica-theologica de Consecratione Anglorum Episcoporum, ab Olao Kiorningio, 4to. Helmstadii, 1739.*

That such men as Melancthon, Grotius, Bossuet, Leibnitz, and Molanus, should engage in the project of reunion, is a strong argument in favour of its practicability; that it failed in their hands, may shew that it is more than an Herculean labour; but does not prove it utterly impracticable. It is evident, that, at one time more than another, the public mind may be disposed to peaceful councils and to feel the advantage of mutual concessions:—perhaps, *venit hora et nunc est*. John iv. 23.

The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,  
 Lets in new lights through chinks which time has  
 made.

WALLER.



Through the flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms (as they are termed by Mr. Burke), which the events of the times have made in the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of almost every country, a flood of light seems to break in, and to point out to all who invoke the name of Christ, the expediency of a general coalition in defence of their common christianity.

## V.

THE commencement of the DECLINE OF THE POPE'S TEMPORAL POWER has been mentioned: of course it was wholly rejected in every country in which the reformation was established; and, to all appearance, it would have been as quickly rejected by the states which retained their spiritual obedience to the see of Rome, if, soon after the commencement of the reformation, an event,

or rather a combination of events, had not taken place, which, for a time, supported the falling fortunes of the Pope's temporal power. After several vicissitudes of persecution and toleration, the Calvinists obtained a legal settlement in France, and began even to attract the favours of the court: the Roman Catholics naturally united in opposition to them. This produced one of the most celebrated events in history;—the league of France. Almost every Catholic in that kingdom entered into it; the house of Guise, an illustrious branch of the family of Lorraine, placed themselves at its head, and it soon found an active friend in Philip the second, the most powerful monarch of his time. The Guises descended from Charlemagne; they appear to have been attached by principle and inclination to the Roman Catholic cause, but probably would not have embarked their fortunes in its support, if, by doing it, they had not

hoped to wrest the crown from the House of Bourbon; and to restore it, in their own persons, to the House of Charlemagne. On the other hand, Philip the second was aware what a powerful enemy the House of Austria would always meet with in the French, if they were united among themselves: he strove therefore to throw France into confusion. This cemented the league. Something of the kind, though of a very inferior degree, took place in every state in christendom where there was a conflict between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant party. It is obvious how greatly the Catholic party stood in need of the countenance and assistance of the Court of Rome: this, for a time, preserved to the Popes their temporal power in the states who acknowledged their spiritual supremacy. The influence which this gave them made them venture on those enormities which now excite so much astonishment,—the bulls by which they absolved the subjects of Henry the fourth of France,

and our Elizabeth from their allegiance; their approbation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, their concurrence in the league, their blessings of the Armada.

In proportion as Henry the fourth triumphed over the league, and the Spanish party lost its ascendant in Europe, the Pope's influence subsided; so that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, little more than the *magni nominis umbra* remained to the Popes of that temporal power which at one time or other had shaken every throne in Europe.

In this last stage of its existence four events deserve particular consideration.

1st. The Venetians have the merit of being the first state who openly contested the Pope's claim to temporal power, and of triumphing in the contest without a schism. This was the result of their celebrated difference with Paul the sixth;—in consequence of their refusing to release two ecclesiastics who had been thrown into

prison for murder, that haughty pontiff laid the territory of Venice under an interdict, and continued it in force for a year. Through the interference of Henry the fourth he recalled it; the Venetians received his ambassador with the greatest marks of respect, but absolutely refused the absolution he offered them.—2dly, The good sense of Cardinal Bellarmine then shewed him that the time was come when the lofty language with which the Popes urged their temporal pretensions would no longer be endured. He, therefore, proposed a middle opinion:—rejecting the Pope's claim of a right to interfere in concerns merely temporal, he claimed for them a right to the use of temporal power, both in temporal and spiritual concerns, if the good of religion required it. Perhaps the distinction is merely verbal, but his softening the language of the claim shewed his apprehensions that, in the extent in which it had been formerly asserted, it was no longer supportable.—

3dly, About forty years after Bellarmine's work appeared, the war of thirty years was terminated by the peace of Westphalia; several articles of it were favourable to the Protestant religion. Pope Innocent, by a protestation in the form of a bull, took upon him to annul them; but neither Catholics nor Protestants paid the slightest attention to his protestation. 4thly, In the year 1682, the clergy of France published their celebrated declaration. It is expressed in four articles; by the first they declare, that "Kings and Princes are not subject, in temporal concerns, to ecclesiastical power; that they cannot be deposed directly or indirectly by the authority of the keys of the church, nor their subjects discharged from the allegiance and duty they owe them."

Some of the three other articles became the subject of dispute; but, in the declaration of the independence of the civil powers on the spiritual, in temporal concerns, the

Roman Catholics on this side the Alps universally acquiesced.

That such a claim was ever made is one of the greatest misfortunes which have befallen christianity. The scenes in which the Popes were engaged in consequence of it, certainly present the dark side of the papal character. In most other points of view they appear to advantage, both in their sacerdotal and their regal capacity. That some of them were infamous by their crimes and their vices, is true: it is also true, that more than an equal number of them have been eminently distinguished by talents and virtue; and, collectively considered, they will not suffer in comparison with any series of sovereigns. Voltaire observes that, in the dark ages, there was less of barbarism and of ignorance in the Popes' dominions, than in any other European state: much certainly was done by them in every part of christendom to protect the lower ranks against their oppressors, to preserve peace

among Kings and Princes, and to alleviate the general calamities of the times. Their exertions for the conversion of infidels were unremitted: few nations can read the history of the first introduction of christianity among them, without being sensible of their obligations to the Popes. This is acknowledged by all candid Protestants, "Quod  
" ad conversionem ethnicorum attinet, mis-  
" siones Romanorum, quantum in me est,  
" omni ope consilioque promovere solvo:  
" neque invidiæ aut obtrectationi locum do;  
" gnarus, evangelii predicationem, a quo-  
" cunque demum fiat, non sine fructu aut  
" efficaciâ manere. (*Ludolfi epistola ad Leib-*  
" *nitzium, Op. Leib. Ed. Dutens, vol. vi. P. I.*  
" 140.") This is the genuine language of good sense and conciliation. No conversion was ever made by proving to a Roman Catholic that his religion may be found in the Name of the Beast, or by proving to a Protestant that Protestants were prefigured by the Locusts which issued from



the bottomless pit, and darkened the heavens and the earth.

## VI.

WE now come to the last link of the Habsburgh chain.—It has been observed, that the *House of Lorraine* descended from Eticho, duke of Suabia and Alsatia, in 700; and that Hugh, a descendant from him in the fourth degree, had two sons, Everard, the general parent of the house of Lorraine, and Guntram, the general parent of the house of Habsburgh. At the distance of about fifteen descents from Everard, we reach Renatus the second, who died in 1508, leaving two sons, Anthony, the patriarch of the latter dukes of Lorraine; and Claude, the patriarch of the house of Guise. From the house of Guise the branches of Mayenne, Joyeuse, Aumâle, and Elbœuf, proceeded. The whole of this illustrious house is now represented by the princes of Vaudemont and Lambesc.

To Anthony duke of Lorraine, Francis-Stephen was seventh in descent. In 1745, he married Maria-Theresa, the eldest of the two daughters and surviving children of the emperor Charles the sixth. In 1713, by a testamentary disposition, called the Pragmatic Sanction, guaranteed by most of the European powers, the emperor had regulated the succession to his hereditary dominions, settling them first on the males, and afterwards on the females, according to seniority. But he was no sooner dead than the succession was disputed; and the dispute gave rise to a long and bloody war. During the greatest part of it, France, Spain, Bavaria, Naples, and Parma, were on one side; Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy, on the other. Finally, the arms of Maria-Theresa triumphed:—with the exception of Silesia and Parma, she obtained all the possessions of her father, and Francis-Stephen, her husband, was elected emperor.

In Charles the sixth the male stock of the imperial line of the house of Habsburgh expired, after filling, without interruption, the throne of Germany, and giving sovereigns to many other thrones during the space of three hundred years:—in the late emperor Joseph, his grandson, the two lines of the Habsburgh family, after a separation of eleven hundred years, were re-united. This will appear by the following pedigree.



## **PART VII.**

**The Period between the Marriage of Maria-Theresa,  
and the Commencement of the French Revolution.**

**1745—1787.**



## VII.

It remains to give some account of *the Lorraine-Austrian Emperors, from the marriage of Maria-Theresa of Habsburgh with Francis Duke of Lorraine, to the commencement of the French Revolution.*

VII. 1. ON the decease of Charles VI, Maria-Theresa, his only daughter, succeeded to a splendid inheritance.—Speaking generally *at the time of her accession, the House of Austria was possessed of the following territories, and held them by the following titles.*

1st. Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, had been acquired by the Conquests of Rudolph of Habsburgh, and by the marriage of his son, Albert, with the heiress of those possessions.

2d. The Netherlands by the marriage of Maximilian the first with Mary, the heiress of the House of Burgundy.

3d. Some territories in Suabia, particularly the Burgau, in consequence of the emperor Maximilian's reuniting them to the empire.

4th. Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, with Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, by the marriage of the emperor Ferdinand the first with Ann, the heiress of Bohemia and Hungary.

5th. Brisgau, by the grant of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

6th. The Mantuan, by confiscation, under Joseph I.

7th. And the Milanese, by the treaty of Radstadt.

Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the husband of Maria-Theresa, died in 1765; she survived him fifteen years, and died in 1780; her descendants will appear by the following table.



# TABI

1. FRANCIS-STEPHEN  
+ 1765.

2. JOSEPH-BENEDICT, + 1790. S. PETER-LEOPOLD. + 1792. Two others

4. FRANCIS-JOSEPH,  
the reigning Em-  
peror, born 1768.

FERDINAND,  
Bishop of  
Saltzburgh,  
born 1769.

CHARLES,  
Field-Marshal,  
Governor of Bo-  
hemia, born 1771.

JOSEPH-ANTHONY,  
Palatine of Hun-  
gary, born 1776.

ANTHONY-VI  
Great Mast  
tonic Order

FERDINAND-CHARLES,  
born 1793.

JOSEPH-FRANCIS,  
born 1799.

FRANCIS-CHARLES,  
born 1802.

MARIA-LOUISA,  
born 1791.

LEOPOLDENE, MAI  
born 1797. be



VII. 2. The first event of importance after the accession of Maria-Theresa was THE WAR OF SEVEN YEARS.

In a former part of these sheets some mention has been made of the gradual rise and increase of the territorial possessions of the House of Hohenzollern—of their elevation to the Electoral Dignity, under the title of Electors of Brandenburg;—of their assumption of the title of King of Prussia,—and of the extensive influence acquired by them in Germany. These were strongly seen and strongly felt both within and out of Germany, during the war for the succession of Austria. That war was scarcely terminated, before a private treaty was entered into between the Courts of Vienna and Dresden,—to which the Court of Petersburgh afterwards acceded,—the object of which was to recover the whole of Silesia, and other ample territories from the King of Prussia. Having received information of this project, the King of Prussia

invaded Saxony and Bohemia: this was the origin of the war of seven years. The Aulic Council voted his conduct a breach of the Public Peace; and the Diet of the Empire passed a decree for enforcing the Execution of the Resolution of the Aulic Council. This made it that kind of war which the Publicists of Germany call a War of Execution of the Empire. Afterwards, an attempt was made to bring before the three colleges of the Empire the question, whether the King of Prussia, in his capacity of Elector of Brandenburg, ought not, on account of his alledged breach of the public peace, to be put to the Ban of the Empire: but such measures were taken by the King's adherents as effectually kept it from regular discussion.

The event of the war is well known:—after seven years of war, in all its horrors, conferences for peace were opened at Hubertsburgh, and soon after a treaty was concluded between the Empress Queen and

his Prussian Majesty: the substance of it was, that a mutual restitution and oblivion should take place, and that each party should sit down in the same situation in which he began.

“It is impossible,” says Mr. Dornford, in a note in his excellent translation of Professor Pütter’s “Historical Developement of the Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire,” vol. iii. page 113, “to give the reader a more just idea of the calamities of this dreadful war, than from the following elegant and descriptive letter written by her present Majesty, when princess of Mecklenburg, to the King of Prussia.

“May it please your Majesty,

“I am at a loss whether I should congratulate or condole with you on your late victory, since the same success which has covered you with laurels has overspread the country of Mecklenburg with desolation. I know, Sire, that it seems

“ unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious  
“ refinement, to feel for one’s country, to  
“ lament the horrors of war, or wish for the  
“ return of peace. I know you may think  
“ it more properly my province to study  
“ the arts of pleasing, or to inspect subjects  
“ of a more domestic nature: but, however  
“ unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot  
“ resist the desire of interceding for this  
“ unhappy people.

“ It was but a few years ago that this  
“ territory wore the most pleasing appear-  
“ ance, the country was cultivated, the  
“ peasant looked cheerful, and the towns  
“ abounded with riches and festivity. What  
“ an alteration, at present, from so charm-  
“ ing a scene! I am not expert at descrip-  
“ tion, nor can my fancy add any horrors  
“ to the picture; but surely even conquer-  
“ ors themselves would weep at the hideous  
“ prospect now before me.

“ The whole country, my dear country!  
“ lies one frightful waste, presenting only

“ objects to excite terror, pity, and de-  
“ spair. The business of the husbandman  
“ and the shepherd are quite discontinued.  
“ The husbandman and the shepherd are  
“ become soldiers themselves, and help to  
“ ravage the soil they formerly cultivated.  
“ The towns are inhabited only by old men,  
“ women, and children. Perhaps here and  
“ there a warrior, by wounds or loss of  
“ limbs rendered unfit for service, left at  
“ his door; his little children hang around,  
“ ask the history of every wound, and  
“ grow themselves soldiers before they find  
“ strength for the field. But this were  
“ nothing; did we not feel the alternate  
“ insolence of either army, as it happens  
“ to advance or retreat in pursuing the  
“ operations of the campaigns. It is im-  
“ possible to express the confusion, which  
“ even those who call themselves our friends  
“ create. Those, from whom we might ex-  
“ pect redress, oppress us with new cala-

“ mities. From your justice, therefore, it  
“ is that we expect relief. To you even  
“ women and children may complain, whose  
“ humanity stoops to the meanest petition,  
“ and whose power is capable of repressing  
“ the greatest injustice.”

VII. 3. The second event during this period was *the war, occasioned by the extinction of the House of Bavaria*.—It ended in the peace of Sax-Teschen, by which the right of the Elector Palatine to the succession was allowed, with the exception of some districts of land between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salze, which were ceded to Austria.

VII. 4. The next event during this period, was *the Partition of Poland*.—That part of Poland which lies on the west of the Vistula, belonged to the antient Germany; the remainder of it belonged to the antient Sarmatia Europæa. The nation is of Sclavonic origin: the word Pole, in that



language, signifies a plain, and was applied to the immense tract of level country, of which, with scarcely any exception, the whole of Poland consists. The sovereigns of Poland are generally divided into four dynasties: I. The House of Lesko; II. The House of Piast; III. The House of Jaghelon; and IV. The different families from whom the princes have been taken who succeeded that house. The history of the first Dynasty, and of the first princes of the second Dynasty, is fabulous: with the third Dynasty, the history of Poland becomes more interesting. Poland was always a powerful barrier against the Ottoman irruptions, and frequently triumphed in the centre of Germany, and on the Rhine: she is now blotted out of the nations of Europe. By successive partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1796, the whole kingdom became divided among the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians;—each sovereign

seized the territory adjoining his own; that seized by Austria was the most populous; that seized by Prussia was the most commercial; that seized by Russia was the most extensive.

## PART VIII.

From the commencement of the French Revolution  
till the Extinction of the Empire of Germany.

1787—1806.



## PART VIII.

WE are now come to the last page of the history of Germany,—THE EFFECTS PRODUCED IN IT BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

For this purpose, it may be useful to return to that period of the history of France in which it was left in one of the preceding sheets—the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne of France; and to point out the successive revolutions which took place in the government of France between that period and the late revolution.

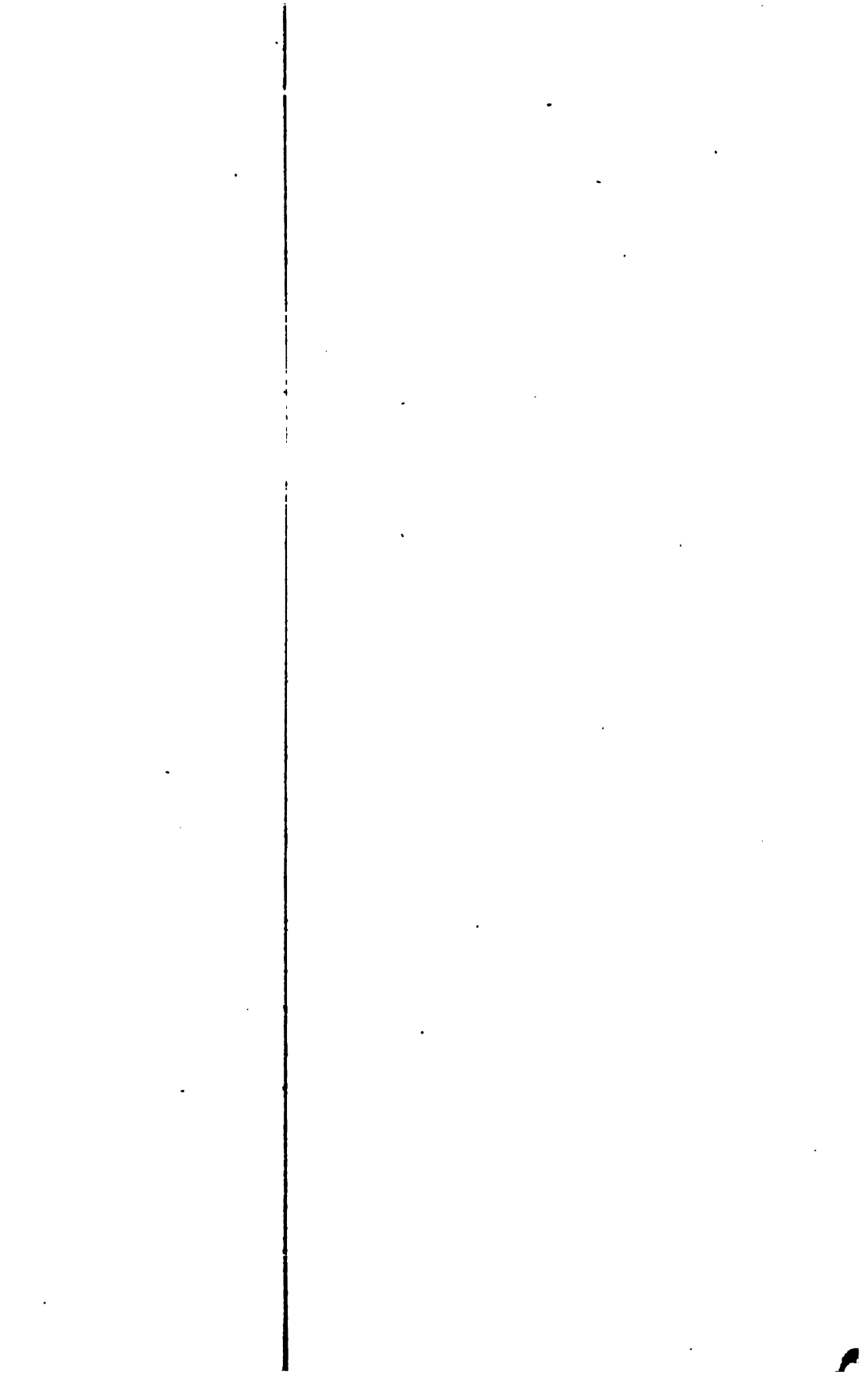
These are,—1st, the re-union of the Great Fiefs to the crown; 2dly, the elevation of the commons to a third order in the state; 3dly, the substitution of the states general for the assemblies on the Champ de Mars; 4thly, the substitution of the three orders of the state for the states general; 5thly, the

increase of the authority of the parliament of Paris; and 6thly, the absolute power of Lewis the fourteenth. We should also notice, 7thly, the conflicts during this period of the clergy, the nobility, and the parliament, with the crown; and 8thly, the privileges retained by the clergy and nobility.

## I.

1. MENTION has been made of the usurpations of the great vassals of France, and of their rendering their dignities and governments hereditary in their families.

The paternal domains of Hugh Capet consisted of the dukedom of Paris, and the Isle of France. These, with the royal domains he acquired by his usurpation, extended from the mouth of the Somme over a considerable tract of the country on the south of Blois, leaving Normandy and Brittany on the west; and Champagne, the Nivernois, and the Berri, on the east. After Hugh Capet acquired the throne, he used







his utmost efforts to restore it to its antient splendour.

One of his leading objects was to *reunite to the crown the possessions usurped from it by its Great Vassals*. His successors pursued this object with unvaried attention:—by treaties, marriages, successions, purchases, and conquests, they accomplished their object so far that, previously to the accession of Lewis the thirteenth, the seventy-two great fiefs of France were united to the crown, and all their feudal lords attended at the states general in 1614, the last that were held till the memorable assembly of them in 1789. This system of re-union was completed by the conquests of Lewis the fourteenth, and by the acquisition of the provinces of Lorraine and Bar to the crown of France in 1735. A chronological account of these reunions is given in the Appendix.\*

\* SEE NOTE XIII.

2. *To lessen the power of the vassals, the French monarchs raised the commonalty:* during the Merovingian and Carlovingian dynasties, the classes of society below the *milites* consisted chiefly of *freemen* engaged in husbandry, *villeins*, or persons attached to the soil of their lords with some property of their own; and *Serfs* or *Slaves*, who were in the lowest state of public and private slavery.

Lewis the fat enfranchised the slaves and villeins on all the territories which belonged to the crown. Thus he raised them to the rank of freemen engaged in husbandry, and brought them under the protection of the law; his vassals imitated his example. According to the notions of justice in those times, it was a branch of the royal prerogative to administer justice in all cases which the law of tenure did not bring under the cognizance of the feudal courts. The French monarchs appointed commissioners to exercise in their names this part of their royal

prerogative; and twice in a year they made a justiciary circuit of the kingdom.

By degrees the monarchs advanced a step farther:—in the settlement of differences among themselves, the sub-vassals had their own tribunals; an appeal from them lay to the plaids or parliaments of the chief vassals: by degrees the kings of France established an appeal from those plaids or parliaments to their own particular plaids or parliament: this materially contributed to the splendour and power of the sovereign. These innovations cemented the union between the monarch and the commons; and, by increasing the importance of the latter, insensibly *raised them to a third order in the state.*

3. We have seen that the assemblies on the Champ de Mars consisted of a body of individual chieftains, convened by their prince:—after the chief vassals had made their governments independent and hereditary, the national assembly was a conven-

tion of hereditary governors of particular states bringing to it their own vassals. To this convention the commons, on account of their acknowledged civil rights, and their immediate subordination to the sovereign, now obtained admission. It is anticipating both events and language to call these states the three orders of the state: the first states (not the first order of the state) were those governed by the chief ecclesiastical vassals; the second states (not the second order of the state) were those governed by the chief lay vassals; the third states were civil communities, governed by municipal officers. Both the chief ecclesiastical and the chief lay vassals brought with them their own vassals to the assembly; the communities appeared by their deputies. Such was the original constitution of the *States General*.

4. In proportion to the depression of the chief vassals the general body of the clergy rose into notice and power, and became *the order of the Clergy*, and the general

body of the nobles rose into notice and power, and became *the Order of the Nobility*: and thus the assembly of the states, retaining their name, but consisting of members of a very different character, became an assembly of *the Three Orders of the State*.

It is observable that, notwithstanding the two last revolutions, each order retained much of the spirit of their predecessors. Like the governors of the ecclesiastical states, the clergy favoured the pretensions of the popes, and sought to preserve and extend their own privileges and immunities:—like the governors of the lay states, the nobility sought to throw off their dependence on the crown, and to preserve and extend their own privileges and immunities: like their husbandmen predecessors, the third order, notwithstanding its advancement, felt its inferiority to the two other orders, and shewed an habitual submission to them.

5. But in the mean time a new power

arose in the state. When Hugh Capet usurped the throne he had a large paternal territory, of which, as duke of Paris and the Isle of France, he was the feudal lord; and which, like other feudal baronies, had its plaids or parliament. This territory descended to his successors; and, as the great fiefs were severally reunited to the crown, *the plaids or parliament of Paris became the plaids or parliaments of those fiefs*. At first, particularly while judicial combats lasted, the parliaments administered justice with a kind of military law; insensibly the parliament became a court of civil justice and civil forms.—Those required knowledge and application, and thus the *Gens de loi*, a class of persons wholly unknown to the antient constitution of France, became a separate class of persons, and something like a distinct order in the state. By degrees the parliament became a national court for the administration of justice throughout the kingdom, particularly in

great causes, a general court of appeal, and a court of record to register the king's decrees.

6. Under the meridian glories of Lewis the fourteenth both the order of the clergy and the order of the nobility wholly lost their territorial power and influence, the third estate scarcely felt its existence, and the parliament was a mere tool of the crown: then, in the largest sense of the word, *the monarch became absolute*. "*L'état est moi*," was the expression of Lewis the fourteenth.

7. *At different periods of the Capetian dynasty, each of the orders of state had its conflict with the crown.* In the quarrels of pope Boniface the eighth with Philip the fair, *the clergy* shewed a strong inclination to support the former; but were rivetted to their allegiance by the spirit of the monarch, and the firm adherence of the nobility and third estate to his cause. During the league they took part against the crown; but from the reign of Henry the fourth, their temporal power declined.

Many were the attempts of *the nobility* to regain their former consequence. With that view they engaged in the League of Public Good, under Lewis the eleventh; joined in the Holy League in the reigns of Francis the second, Charles the ninth, Henry the third, and Henry the fourth; thwarted the attempts of Lewis the thirteenth, to subdue the Huguenots; and, in the minority of Lewis the fourteenth, kindled the war of the Fronde.

*The parliament* shewed an equal spirit of resistance to the monarch's will. They assumed, and were allowed, the privilege of remonstrating against the decrees which the king sent them to register, if they professed to discover in them any thing contrary to the interest of the state, identifying it in expression with the interest of the monarch. In the time of the league they acquired great consequence: they positively refused to register a decree of Henry the fourth; and announced to him that "they would



“ always be guilty of that crime, when his  
“ will should stand in opposition to his in-  
“ terest.” Cardinal de Richelieu reduced  
them to the lowest state of submission:  
but they revived in the troubles of the  
Fronde.

It is observable that neither the clergy  
nor the nobility recovered from the state of  
dependence to which they were reduced  
by Lewis the fourteenth; but the parlia-  
ment soon rose with fresh vigour. Even  
in the life-time of that monarch they be-  
came so powerful, that it required much  
exertion and management to make them  
register his decree for legitimating his na-  
tural offspring; they set aside his will, and  
were constantly at variance with his suc-  
cessor during the last years of his reign. If  
we were to believe the Marquis de Bouillé,  
(Mem. p. 13, 18), so early as in the year  
1767, the parliaments had formed the pro-  
ject of establishing an aristocracy in France,  
of which they were to participate: and had

united for that purpose, styling each other a division of the national parliament.

8. It must also be observed that, though the Clergy and the Nobility had been thus deprived of the whole of their territorial independence, they had been permitted to hold their rank among the orders of the state, the privileges annexed to it, and almost an exclusive title to the favours of the court. This gave them a superiority over the third order, which was severely felt by its members in every public and private occurrence.

In 1614, M. de Sineçey presented to Lewis the thirteenth an address from the order of nobility assembled at the states general, in which, after much pompous declamation on the services and rights of the nobility, he thus expresses himself:—" I  
" should never finish, were I to relate to  
" his majesty all that antiquity has taught  
" the nobility respecting the pre-eminence  
" which birth gives to their order ;—an order

“ so distinct from the rest of the people,  
“ that they never can bear any kind of com-  
“ parison. The third estate is composed of  
“ the people in the towns, and in hamlets:  
“ almost all of them owe homage, and are  
“ subject to the courts of the other two  
“ orders, either as citizens, burgesses, trades-  
“ men, or mechanics, or in virtue of some  
“ offices. These are they, who losing sight  
“ of their proper conduct, unmindful of  
“ their duty, and not acknowledged by those  
“ they represent, venture to compare them-  
“ selves to Us!—I am ashamed,” continues  
the orator, “ to relate to your majesty the  
“ expressions which have again offended  
“ us. They compare your state to a family  
“ consisting of three children. They say  
“ the clerical order is the *eldest*, ours the  
“ *puisne*, and themselves the *cadêts*. Into  
“ what a miserable condition are we fallen  
“ if this expression be true!—To what are  
“ reduced so many services, rendered from  
“ time immemorial!—so many honours and

“dignities transmitted hereditarily!—thus “to form, with the vulgar, the closest society among men.” Such notions, too generally entertained, and too publicly avowed by the French nobility till the latest æra of their political existence, must at all times be offensive: after a general diffusion of knowledge and opulence, they must be insupportable. This was their effect in France: they contributed very much to produce that irritation of the public mind which was one of the causes of the late revolution.

Among the privileges which the nobility were permitted to retain, after the loss of their territorial independence, was their exemption from the Taille,\* and from some other burdens of the state. This greatly lessened the resources of government, and increased its financial embarrassments:—it was the proximate cause of that event from which the revolution is usually dated.

\* SEE NOTE XIV.

## II.

*The event, which immediately led to the French revolution, was the discovery in the year 1787, that the annual produce of the French finances fell short of the annual expenditure by a sum, which has been variously calculated, but may be reasonably fixed at three millions two hundred thousand pounds of our money.*

1. To raise a sum which would equalize the income with the expenditure, it was found necessary to subject the privileged orders to contribute more equally than they had done to the national burden. To effect

this, the king called an Assembly of the Notables; they met, but, on the chief object of their meeting, did little more than declare their incompetency to consent to new taxes. This threw back the King on the parliament. He required them to register some fiscal Edicts; they refused to register them, and declared that, by the constitution of France, new taxes could not be imposed on the people without the consent of the States-General. The King convened the States-General.—According to their ancient constitution, the three orders, of which they were composed, should assemble in separate chambers, and each order vote separately. To this mode of voting the third order objected; and, on account of the system of taxation intended to be carried against the two privileged orders, were supported in their objection by the court. This produced much discussion: the Third-Estate gained rapidly in importance,

and at length assumed the title of The National Assembly, and appeared to arrogate to themselves the exercise of the whole power of the States-General. The king was soon dissatisfied with their proceedings: he issued a peremptory order for their separation, and placed a guard at the door of the chamber where they used to meet, to prevent their assembling there in future. The members adjourned to a tennis court, and took the celebrated oath, not to separate till a legal constitution should be established: the court allowed them to proceed. They were afterwards joined by the two other Orders; and it was settled they should meet in one deliberative assembly, and vote by the head.—Here the revolution began; the abolition of royalty, the establishment of a republic; and the legal murder of the king soon followed.

From the works of several writers, passages have been extracted, which are sup-

posed to shew that the Revolution and its consequences had, long before they took place, been foreseen by them. Few of these deserve attention ; the most remarkable of them is in the *Histoire de Polybe, Paris 1727, avec des notes, par M. de Folard, Tom. 2. Livre 1. c. 18. fol. 329, note* “ Il  
“ se forme une conspiration aujourd’hui,  
“ qui gagne peu à peu, et par des moïens si  
“ subtils, que j’ai regret de n’être pas venu  
“ au monde trent ans plus tard pour en  
“ voir le denouement. Il faut avouer que  
“ certaine politique est admirable, et les  
“ lunettes des Puissances de l’Europe tres  
“ mauvases.”

That such an annual deficit as three millions two hundred thousand pounds of our money should produce such a sensation in such a kingdom as France, is *undeniable proof* that its government was in the highest degree weak and embarrassed,



2. *The chief causes of this weakness and embarrassment* were, the expensive wars and magnificence of Lewis the fourteenth; and the *expensive wars and profuse profligacy* of Lewis the fifteenth. But many states have had their weakness and embarrassments, and have sunk or recovered without a revolution.

3. *The circumstances, which made the weakness and embarrassment of the French government immediately lead to a revolution*, were the general dissatisfaction of every class of persons in France with the place it held in the state; and the general wish for a new order of things, to which that dissatisfaction gave rise. The labouring part of the community complained, that they were the despised portion of the state, and bore all its burdens; the lower rank of the clergy felt very strongly the unequal distribution of ecclesiastical property, and the lofty manners of the dignitaries of their order; the financiers, the merchants, and the opulent

burghers, had often reason to feel that, notwithstanding their wealth, their splendour, and their relative importance, they were a degraded cast in the view of the privileged orders; the nobility of the provinces, or, as we should call them, the country gentlemen, were jealous in the extreme of the nobility of the court; and those saw with indignation, that all their rank and consequence vanished before the crown and its favourites. Even the monarch himself was not wholly satisfied with his lot: partly with a view to gratify his subjects, and partly with a view to his own case, he wished to deprive the nobility and great lords of certain prerogatives, which occasionally pressed inconveniently both on himself and his people.

Thus each class of men was dissatisfied with the place it held in the state, and a revolutionary spirit prevailed every where.

4. Unknown in a great measure to themselves, this revolutionary spirit had a *repub-*

*licen tendency.*' On one hand, the respect of the French for the monarch had been greatly diminished by the low profligacy of the court in the latter part of the long reign of Lewis the fifteenth, and had been still further diminished by Maria-Antoinetta's rejection of etiquette, and the consequential freedom of manners: on the other hand, the contests of Lewis the fifteenth with his parliaments, the increased intercourse between France and England, and the monarch's improvident connexion with America, introduced notions of liberty incompatible with the existing form of the French government.

To these may be added a host of writers, almost incessantly employed in exposing to ridicule and detestation the national religion, and the abuses of government, and in pointing out the advantages and necessity of a radical reform. To those many have attributed the destruction of monarchy, the

murder of the monarch, and the general horrors of the French revolution. The charge has been principally levelled against the class of men called the French Philosophers: from this charge they have been defended, not very successfully, by M. Mounier and M. Mallet du Pan.\*

\* SEE NOTE XVI.

### III.

At the commencement of the revolution, there was a considerable *difference of opinion among the politicians of the other states of Europe, on the line of conduct which it was their interest to adopt in respect to France*, one party advising peace, the other war.

1. The *advocates for peace* asserted, that every nation has a right to regulate its internal concerns and change its form of government; and that her making those changes can never be a just cause of war. They contended that the intentions of

France were pacific; and that, if she were left to herself, the occupations of commerce and husbandry, and the pursuits of the arts and sciences would continue as before; the political effervescence would subside, the sober and well intentioned party would gain the ascendant; and the king, with some salutary modifications, would preserve his power. They predicted that the war must ultimately prove ruinous to the powers who should engage in it: for, though it should destroy the commerce and finances of France, yet this would only have the effect of recruiting her armies, by supplying her, from her unemployed workmen and artificers, with an inexhaustible body of recruits; that making her a bankrupt would only relieve her from her debts; that her twenty millions of population would be reduced to two professions, war and agriculture; that France would thus become a nation of armed men, with all the energy, and all the resources which, in a time of

anarchy and revolution, a foreign and a popular war gives to a triumphant party, by putting them in full possession of the sovereignty, the power, the armies, the offices, and the treasures of the kingdom. Finally, they remarked how seldom coalitions have succeeded; and that from the known aversion which the Austrians and Prussians, the leading powers in the projected coalition, had for each other, and the envy, not to say the hatred, which all the powers proposed to be coalized bore to the English, there were more than sufficient seeds of discord in the original constitution of the coalition to produce its ruin. This was the language of Prince Kaunitz at Vienna, and of Mr. Fox in England.

2. The *advocates for war* contended, that, if the revolutionary spirit and practices of France were not subdued, they would overrun Europe; so that, to prevent their perishing in the shipwreck of France, it was necessary the other states of Europe should

unite; and, by restoring monarchical principles, destroy their common foe. They predicted from the state of the finances of France, that there must soon be an end of her credit, and that whenever her credit should be at end she must fall at the feet of her enemies. They maintained that unconditional submission, and a full restoration of monarchy, and the antient order of things, were the only terms the allied powers should receive: but that the allied powers, in return for their services, should have what they were so justly entitled to, indemnity for the past, and security for the future. They added that, in France, the friends of the revolution bore no proportion to the royalists; and that, as soon as the allied powers should appear in force on the confines of the kingdom, the royalists would crowd to their camps, the towns would open their gates to receive them, and the flag of royalty would be unfurled in every province of the interior.

3. This was the general language of the advocates for war; a small portion of enlightened men, at the head of which were *Mr. Burke* and *Mr. Mallet du Pan*, held a different language. In a work which for an united display of eloquence, information, discernment, and philosophy, has very few rivals, *Mr. Burke* exposed his sentiments. He predicted in it the fall of royalty, the complete triumph of the Jacobins, the extinction of public credit and its consequence, the portentous power of the usurpers of the French government; their attempts to revolutionize every state of Europe, their success, and their enormities: he adjured the powers of Europe to unite against them, to make such exertions as befitted no common war, to pursue no other object than the restoration of the monarch and the old government of France, and to disclaim in the most unequivocal expressions, and by the most unequivocal acts, any views of private interest.



Early in the year 1792 the league was formed, and the emperor and king of Prussia, at the head of an immense army, invaded France. Some time after they were joined by England; and those who read Mr. Herbert Marsh's excellent *History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, from the time of the conference of Pilnitz till the declaration of war against Great Britain*, will confess that England did not join the league till after the open and avowed hostilities of France had made it unavoidable.

This grand coalition produced no effect: the states, of whom it was composed, entered into it one after another with no cordiality, and with a coolness approaching to indifference. The friends of royalty among the French were persuaded, that the league was formed with some views distinct from the re-establishment of the monarchy; the powers themselves never made any explicit declaration to the contrary; the indemnity

which they claimed for the past, was construed by the French to mean a dismemberment of a part of the empire; the security which they claimed for the future, was construed by the French to mean the dismemberment of a further part of it; and some ground for this construction appeared in the indifference shewn by the allied powers to the princes of the house of Bourbon, from their unwillingness to employ them, or to repose the least confidence in them; and from their making their conquests in their own names and garrisoning them with their own troops. Good policy, perhaps, required that the French princes should have appeared as the principals in the war, the allied powers as their auxiliaries;—the reverse of which was uniformly shewn;—that the French princes and allied powers should have made the terms of communion with them as broad as possible; that the French nation should have been given to understand, that much of the property which the

revolution had transferred from one hand to another, should be permitted to remain with the new possessors; that, with a very small exception, a general amnesty should have been proclaimed; and that by abolishing the *lettres de cachét*, establishing regular meetings of the states general, and making their consent necessary to new taxes, by allowing the subjects something in the nature of our Habeas Corpus, subjecting the nobility to the burdens of the state in common with other subjects, and extinguishing the most odious of the prerogatives of the privileged orders, some sacrifices should be made to the general wish, expressed by almost all ranks of men at the beginning of the revolution, for the limitation of the arbitrary power of the crown, and the privileges of the nobility. It is probable that, by proceeding in this manner, a general insurrection in the interior might have been produced, which, with the co-operation of the allied armies,

might have overturned the Jacobin government of France. This was the burden of many a page of M. Mallet du Pan. His melancholy forebodings, and their regular accomplishment, merited for him the honourable appellation of the Cassandra of the French revolution.

4. *The event of the war is known.* After issuing a manifesto, which should never have been issued but from the camp of victory when the enemy was prostrate and suppliant, the duke of Brunswick made an ignominious retreat from France.

*Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri,  
Spes Danaüm. VIRG.*

From "that time," says Mallet du Pan, "the French republicans turned against their enemies the terrors with which their enemies thought they should have smitten them.—In six weeks the dominion of the revolution was rapidly extended, from the Alps to the Rhine, and from the territory of Genoa to the mouth of the

“Scheldt. The higher circles of the German empire, the United Provinces, Switzerland, Italy, all floated to the abyss.”

From this it is evident, what produced the rapid and extensive conquests of the French. It was that which gave Thrace, Greece, and the Persic empire to Alexander the Great;—which gave all within the Ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, Mount Atlas, and the Nile, to the Romans;—which gave Asia-Minor and the Moræa to the Turks,—the want of a powerful, united, energetic, and wise confederacy to subdue the common foe.—Tacitus, in a single line, has written the history of the coalitions against France,—

“*Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.*”

## IV.

“ JE n'ai pas le courage de parler des mi-sères que suivirent,” are Montesquieu's words, when he comes to the last years of the empire of the east: they may be used by every writer whose subject leads him to notice, without obliging him to dwell upon *the history of the last years of the German empire.*

For the purpose of these sheets it is quite sufficient to mention, that the original confederacy against France was terminated, in respect to Austria, by the treaty of Luneville in February 1801; that during the peace, or rather armistice, which followed, Buonaparte, in May 1804, assumed the title of Emperor of the French, and was crowned at Paris in the following November; that, in August of the same year, the Emperor of Germany assumed the title of Emperor of Austria, for his independent kingdoms;

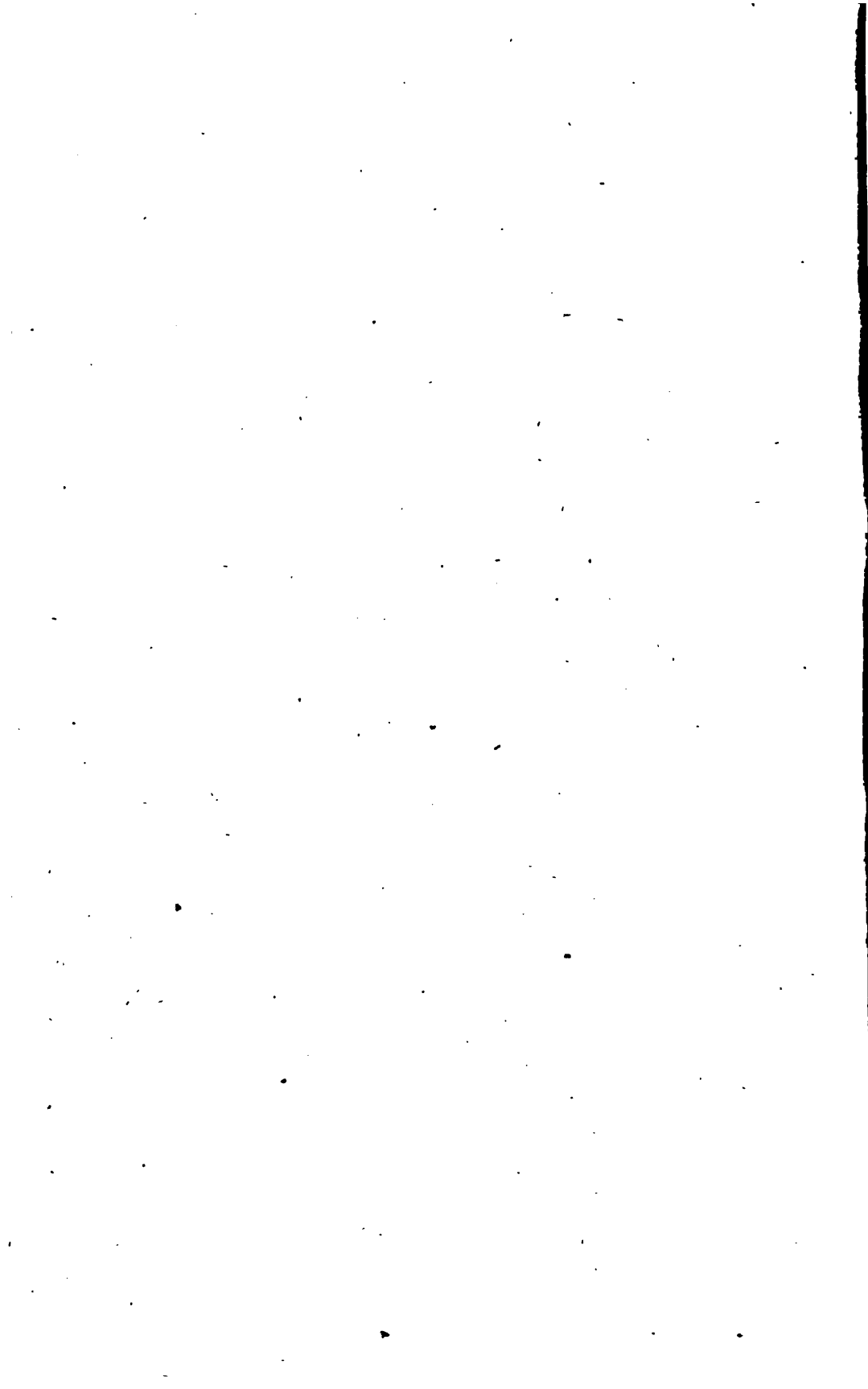
and was soon after crowned at Vienna; that, in the close of the year 1805, a confederacy against France was formed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England: that Buonaparte obtained a complete victory at Austerlitz, almost immediately followed by the treaty of Presburgh, signed in the ensuing August; that shortly after, most of the princes in the western and southern divisions of Germany separated themselves from the Germanic body, and formed themselves into a league, under the protection of the Emperor of the French, with the title of the Confederated States of the Rhine: and finally, that by a solemn act dated on the 7th of August, in this present year, the Emperor of Germany abdicated the Imperial Government of the Germanic Empire, and absolved the Electors, Princes, and States, and all that belonged to the Empire, from the duties by which they were united to him, as their legal chief.

Such has been the extinction of the Germanic Empire, after having subsisted during a thousand years; and having been uninterruptedly possessed by the House of Habsburgh since the election of the Emperor Albert the second, in 1438.<sup>2</sup>

\* SEE NOTE XV.



**PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.**



## PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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### NOTE I. p. 27.

**F**EW subjects formerly occasioned more discussion than the **LAWFULNESS OF THE DE-THRONEMENT OF CHILDERIC BY PEPIN, AND THE LAWFULNESS OF THE ELEVATION OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST, IN EXCLUSION OF THE GREEK EMPERORS**; and this discussion has been revived by the recent occurrences in France. It presents two distinct subjects for consideration; the conduct of Pepin and Charlemagne, and the conduct of the popes.

1. A more unjust usurpation than that of *Pepin* can scarcely be imagined. Perhaps, in our notion of the word, the Francic throne was not at that time hereditary; but it was hereditary in the sense then given to that word; so that, when a prince of the reigning family had been seated on the throne, and recognized by the people, his title, according to the universal opinion of those times, was as sacred

and incontestible as the title of any sovereign has since been considered in modern Europe. The Merovingian princes had done no act by which they deserved to forfeit the affections of their subjects; still less had they been guilty of those enormities, "which make nature rise up, and, claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt system." (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 389). The only charge alledged against them was, the degree of inactivity, which gave them the appellation of *The Sluggard Kings*; but, by confining them within the walls of their palaces, and reducing them to a life of indolence, the Mayors themselves were the real authors of their inactivity; and thus made the crime of which they availed themselves. This is demonstrated by Vertot, *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscription et Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. Pepin's usurpation was therefore an act of glaring injustice.

But no objection lies to the justice of *Charlemagne's* assumption of the Western Empire. The Greek Emperors had more than abandoned the people of Rome. So far they exercised sovereignty over them, as to claim a right of persecuting them for holding religious tenets different from their own; but, when they were invaded by the Lombards, and applied to the emperors for relief, it appeared that the em-

perors had little will, and no power to relieve them. Now the rights of protection and allegiance are reciprocal; and none can claim the latter, who has not both the ability and the will to afford the former. Protection, the emperors could not give to the Romans; their right to the allegiance of the Romans was therefore at an end. On this ground, the part taken by the Romans, first in seeking the assistance of the Francic princes, and afterwards in electing Charlemagne for their monarch, deserves praise; and it is highly in favour of the leaders in this revolution, that, till it became necessary to choose between submission to a foreign yoke, and transferring their allegiance to a new potentate, they rather retarded than accelerated the final crisis.

2. In respect to the conduct of *the popes* towards Pepin and Charlemagne, the various texts of antient writers which throw any light on it, are collected by Launoy, (*Opera*, tom. v. pars 2. l. 12. epist. 9. p. 477-487), and may be seen in the originals in Dom Bouquet's Collection, tom. v.<sup>a</sup> To suppose that the popes,

<sup>a</sup> The title of the first volume of this work, is *Rerum Gallicarum & Francicarum Scriptores, ou Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, (les plus anciens et les contemporains donnés dans leur langue originale), contenant tout ce qui s'est passé dans les Gaules avant l'arrivée des François, et*

in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne, assumed a divine right to distribute kingdoms and principalities, is to ascribe to them the

*plusieurs autres choses qui regardent les François depuis leur origine jusqu' à Clovis; le tout accompagné de Préfaces, de Sommaires, de Notes et de Tables, par le R. P. Dom Martin Bouquet, et autres Religieux Bénédictins, Paris 1738.* It was continued on the same plan to the year 1060: the first volume was published in 1738, the eleventh and last in 1767. The general value of the work is enhanced by the learned Dissertations, the ample Table of Contents, and the full Index, inserted in each volume, and by the Maps and other explanatory or illustrative matter occasionally introduced into the work. The Tables of Contents and the Indexes are framed with so much minuteness and skill, as to bring, in a few minutes, to the reader's eye, all that can be found in contemporary or ancient writers, respecting any fact within the period of the collection on which he can seek for information:—at the same time, the dissertations are so copious and so ably executed, that there seldom is a point of importance or difficulty where the writers have not collected for the reader, the learning and sentiments of all preceding writers upon it. Dom Bouquet lived to finish the eight first volumes; on his decease, the work was put into the hands of Dom Haudequier; who, with a view to it, had, in Dom Bouquet's life-time, learned the Arabic language, to enable him to print, with a translation, the authors who have written in that language upon the Crusades.—Both writers were Benedictine Monks of the Congregation of St. Maur; and invaluable as the work is, it is by no means the only work of the same calibre, for which we are indebted to that learned community.—In surveying the collection, it is impossible not to feel a wish for a similar collection of our ancient English historians.

Hildebrandine principles, which the Roman see did not profess till three centuries afterwards. But, even in the times of Pepin and Charlemagne, the popes took on them to pronounce, that there were cases in which it was lawful for subjects to dethrone their sovereign and choose another; and also took on themselves to decide when these cases happened; and to ascribe the justice of the measure in some degree to the authority of their decision.

It is curious to see how Father Daniel justifies St. Boniface, one of the principal actors in this memorable scene, (*Histoire de France*, edit. 1755, vol. ii. p. 277). "All great affairs," he observes, "have a double face; and, at all times, even in the schisms of the church, holy persons have been seen to embrace different sides of a question, according to their different manner of viewing things. The danger in which Rome stood of being crushed by the Lombards, the attempts of the emperors of Constantinople against the catholic religion, the conquests made by the Saracens in Spain and the southern provinces of France, where their progress had been arrested by Charles Martel, the exposed situation of the German churches to the incursions of their idolatrous neighbours, the

“ power and reputation of Pepin, who alone  
“ could keep off or prevent so many evils with  
“ which the church was threatened, the alarm-  
“ ing consequences of incurring his displea-  
“ sure, the good consequences likely to be  
“ produced by a friendly understanding be-  
“ tween him and the holy see, the little which  
“ in fact was taken from the king, (a king in  
“ name only), or from a family, who, for a  
“ century, had nothing of royalty but the  
“ name,—all this being represented to the holy  
“ prelate in the strong and persuasive style  
“ which Pepin was so much master of, when  
“ he pleased to use it, had its effect on St.  
“ Boniface, and brought him over to Pepin’s  
“ party. For these reasons he thought he saw,  
“ in what was transacting, the good of the  
“ church and the greater glory of God.”

This is an exquisite morsel of casuistry; it certainly is impossible to frame, on the grounds chosen by Father Daniel, a more artful apology for the pope and his adherents; but it is only saying in other words, that the end sanctified the means; a principle of the most dangerous tendency, and never more dangerous than when, as on an occasion like that under consideration, it is used to justify injustice done for the supposed good of religion. If the question proposed by Pepin’s desire to Pope



Zachary, had been proposed to St. Paul, for his decision upon it, on the grounds chosen by Father Daniel, his answer would have been, "non sunt facienda mala, ut bona eveniant."

But it is by no means clear, that the popes acted on the principles suggested by Father Daniel. On the contrary, they appear to have decided the case by the genuine whiggish principle of the correlative rights and duties of protection and allegiance. They found that Pepin was in possession of all the powers of government;—on the legality of his acquiring or continuing to hold them, their opinion was not required: the only fact stated to them was, that the sovereign power of the state was in the hands of Pepin; with an intimation of the inability of the Merovingian princes to recover it. Upon this statement their opinion was asked, whether, as Pepin had the power, it was lawful to give him the name, and to acquiesce in his exercising the functions of king. To this they answered in the affirmative; and their answer, in this view of the case, does them honour.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> About the beginning of the 17th century, a dispute between the pope and the emperor Joseph the first, produced a minute and warm discussion of the nature and extent of the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. On the decease of Alphonsus II, duke of Modena and Ferrara, in 1597, without a child or bro-

The account given in these sheets, of the transactions between Pepin and Charlemagne and the popes, is conformable to that of the Abbé St. Marc, in his *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire Générale de l'Italie*, 6 vol. 8vo. Paris 1761—1770, a work of the greatest merit.

ther, three claims were made to the duchy of Ferrara, a part of the possessions which devolved to him from the house of Esté;—one by Cæsar, the collateral heir and devisee of Alphon-sus; another by the pope, and a third by the emperor. Both the pope and the emperor claimed Ferrara, as an escheat for want of a male heir of the house of Esté; and the question between them was, whether Ferrara was a part of the Imperial Domains in Italy, or included in the donations from Pepin and Charlemagne. The emperor took no step to enforce his claim; but the pope, at the head of an army of 16000 men, seized the whole territory. It remained with him and his successors till the year 1708, when the emperor Joseph the second, seized Ferrara and its dependences. Among them, were the town and salt works of Commachio on the Adriatic. In the following year, the differences between the pope and the emperor were adjusted, and Commachio restored to the pope: but, with an express saving of the rights of the duke of Modena, which were to be examined and settled by a congregation, to be instituted for that very purpose by the pope. This gave rise to the discussion in question; it was conducted by Fontanini on the part of the pope; and by Muratori on the part of the duke of Modena. Every part of history, in any degree connected with the subject, was discussed by the combatants with the greatest learning: and a due share of their exertions was bestowed on the nature and extent of the donations of the Carlo-vingian monarchs to the popes. (See the Abbé Mably's *Droit Public de l'Europe*, and Brenna's *Life of Muratori*).

After a very attentive perusal of some of the principal works on the subject, his relation appeared to the writer, to give a consistent and probable account of the events in question, to be warranted by the best antient authorities, and to contain such a series or chain of facts as might be expected from the spirit of the times, and the temper of the actors.

NOTE II. p. 38.

ON the justice of the usurpation of Pepin and Charlemagne some observations have been made. THE USURPATION OF HUGH CAPET was less objectionable than Pepin's, as the weakness of the Carlovingian monarchs, of which Hugh Capet availed himself to dispossess them of their throne, was by no means so much his own work, as the indolence of the Merovingian monarchs was the work of Pepin. But, as the Carlovingian monarchs had not deserted their subjects, and no foreign enemy actually pressed them, Hugh Capet could not urge all, that Charlemagne might have urged, in his defence.

From Hugh Capet the sceptre of France has been regularly transmitted to our time, in a course of hereditary descent from male to male: we have lived to behold its lamentable end.

After a long scene of anarchy, Buonaparte has possessed himself of the vacant throne, and given the French monarchy the more splendid title of an Empire; and Pius the seventh has repeated, in his regard, at Paris, something like the splendid ceremonies which Zachary and Leo performed for Pepin and Charlemagne, at Soissons and Rome.

The crimes and horrors of the preceding stages of the French revolution, it is impossible to deny or to palliate: in defence of Buonaparte's assumption of the sovereign power of France much may be alleged.

The throne of France was vacant; the exiled princes had no visible means of regaining it; and it was manifest that nothing, but the strong arm of absolute power, could restore order and good government to the country. As soon as he possessed himself of the sovereignty, all the kings and powers of Europe acknowledged Buonaparte in the capacity he assumed,—a strong proof that the exigencies of the times made the measure necessary.

From this moment, in respect, both to his French subjects and to foreign Princes, Buonaparte was the lawful sovereign of France, under whatever title he might please to assume.

After such a convulsion, if it were not necessary, it certainly was justifiable, for the pope

to concur in any measure that tended to quiet the consciences of the timorous, or establish general tranquillity. This appears to be the light, in which the part he acted at Buonaparte's coronation should be viewed: and, viewing it in this light, whatever blame seems imputable to pope Zachary, none seems to attach to pope Pius the seventh.

The ecclesiastical division of France by the Pope and Buonaparte has not been acquiesced in by some of the Gallican prelates: they appear much perplexed between allegiance to the Bourbons, and duty to the Pope.—In defence of their conduct, they invoke the canons of the church, which, in the strongest and most explicit terms, declare it unlawful to impose a new bishop on the see of any bishop who is alive and has not resigned, or been canonically deposed from his see.—Their appeal to the canons must be decided in their favour, if the case should be tried by the ordinary rules of the ecclesiastical polity of the Roman Catholic Church. But, at the time we speak of, no sentence founded on those rules could be carried into execution. Such was the extraordinary state of things, that nothing short of the *Dominium Altum*, or the right of providing for extraordinary cases by extraordinary acts of authority, could be exerted with effect: and

that *Dominium Altum* in the spiritual concerns of the church, the venerable prelates cannot, consistently with their own principles, deny to the successor of St. Peter.

NOTE III, referred to in Table II, following  
page 38.

THAT Hugh Capet was the great-grandson of Robert the Strong, is a probable opinion; but the Carolingian descent of Robert the Strong, is, at least, problematical. The French writers differ among themselves in the manner of deducing it: and the German writers contend, that he was of German extraction. In general, the writers on the subject adopt one or other of the four following schemes; and, so little of certainty is there in them, that in no two of them, the same father is assigned to Robert the Strong.

At all events, three facts are certain,—that Hugh Capet was an usurper; that he is the Patriarch of the CAPETIAN DYNASTY, and that, through him, in a regular course of male succession, the Crown of France was transmitted to Lewis the sixteenth, its last possessor. But it has twice happened that, from the want of male issue, the lineal line has stopped, and it has become necessary to have recourse

ong as his grandfather.

FD.

*Genealogy.*

NEVELONGUS,  
Count of Autun.

THEODORICK  
of Masieu.

ROBERT the Saxon.

ROBERT the Strong.

WELPT, Count of Altorf.

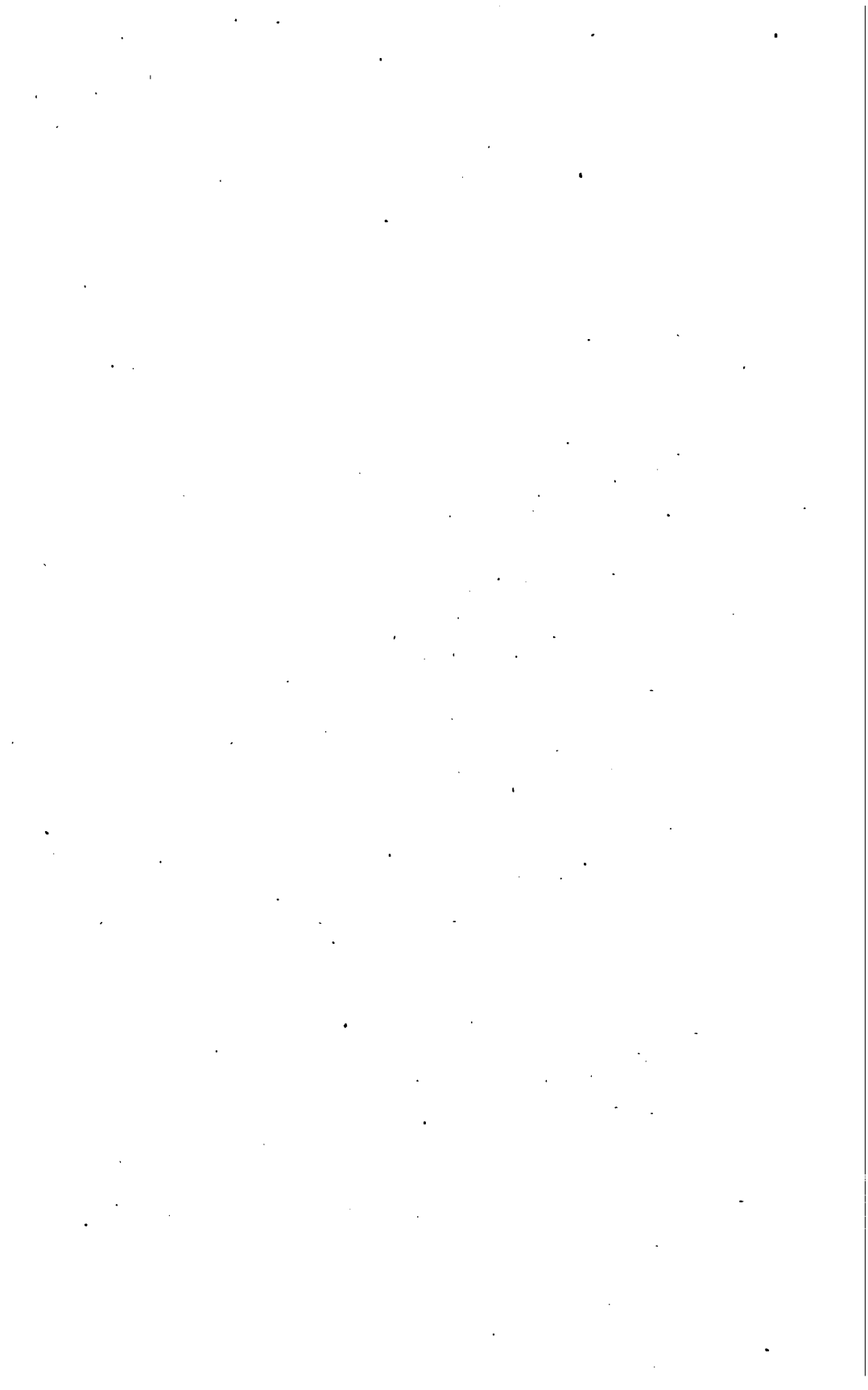
CONRADE the Elder,  
Count of Paris.

ROBERT the Strong.

ATRIX.

EMMA=RUDOLPH,  
Duke of Burgundy.

A Vol. II. Pref. § 8, et seq.—  
" *Histoire Genealogique de la*  
" *ne in the Memoires de l'Acade-*  
" *phic extraction of the Capetian*  
" *Guelphs, with undiminished*





to the next collateral line. This successively introduced the Valesian and Bourbon lines.

In respect to the introduction of the *Valesian line*;—Saint Lewis, the eighth monarch in succession to Hugh Capet, had two sons, Philip the third, and Robert Count of Clermont.

Philip the third had two sons, Philip the fourth, and Charles Count of Valois.

Philip the fourth had three sons, Lewis the tenth, Philip the fifth, and Charles the fourth: all of them died without male issue. The resort then was to the descendants of Charles Count of Valois their uncle; and accordingly, Philip his son succeeded to the throne, and gave rise to the *Valesian line* of the Capetian kings.

In respect to the introduction of the *Bourbon line*;—on the death of Henry the third, the last king of the *Valesian line*, the resort was to Henry the fourth, his next heir, and the lineal male descendant of Robert Count of Clermont. By his marriage with Beatrice, heiress of the house of Bourbon, Robert Count of Clermont became entitled to the lordship of Bourbon in her right: and his posterity exchanged for it the title of Clermont. In the course of time they became divided into several branches: as those of Bourbon-Vendome, Bourbon-Montpensier, Bourbon-Orleans, and Bourbon-Condé. Henry

the fourth was of the first branch:—in right of his mother, Jane of Albret, he inherited the kingdom of Navarre. Thus he gave rise to the Bourbon line of Capetian kings; which, from his maternal heirship, is sometimes called the Navarrese. Perhaps there is not, in the annals of history, an instance of one sovereign's succeeding another in a direct course of hereditary descent, at so remote a degree of consanguinity as that which existed between Henry the third and Henry the fourth of France. Saint Lewis was their common ancestor; from him, Henry the third descended in the ninth, and Henry the fourth in the tenth degree; so that they were related in the nineteenth degree of consanguinity; and it is observable, that a period of three hundred years elapsed between the death of Saint Lewis, their common Patriarch, and the accession of Henry the fourth.

The introduction of the Valesian and Bourbonian lines into the royal genealogy of France, will appear more clearly by the following table.

ANCI

RT, Du  
his Hou  
o Philli

EUX.

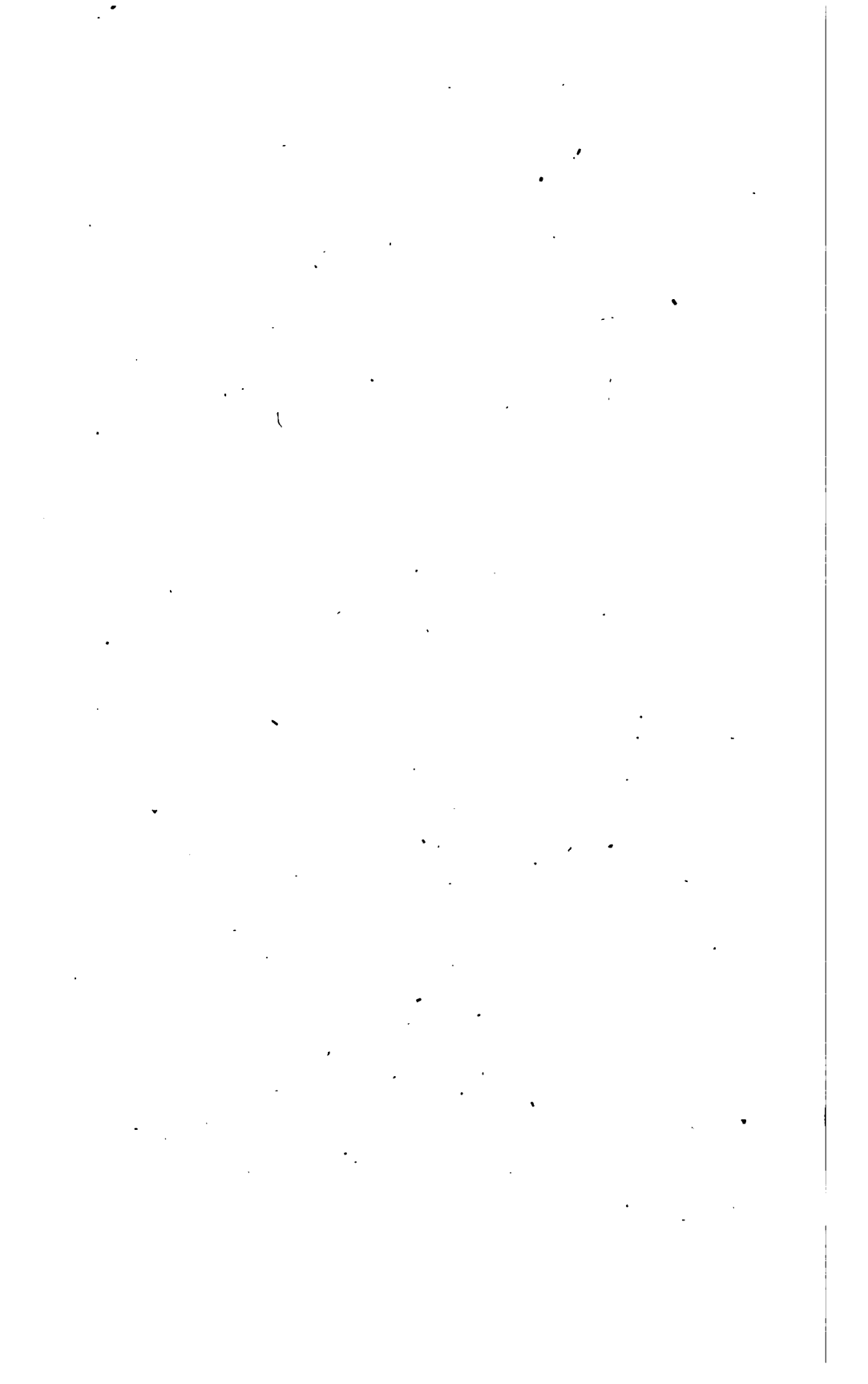
BERT,  
sented  
of Mei  
andy.

ANCE.

RT, Duke of Burgundy ; the  
his House, was eleventh in de  
PHILIP the Bald, his fourth

EUX.

BERT,  
sented by the  
of Meilleraye  
andy.



## NOTE IV. p. 92.

The *Ἐπίται* of the Greeks, the Venetii of the Romans, occupied a territory which stretched from the Addua on the west, to the confines of Pannonia on the east; and, from north to south, filled the space between the Rhætian and Julian Alps, and the Po. MODERN VENICE owes its origin to the invasion of Attila in 457, which drove several families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent country into a cluster of numerous islands, which lie in the extremity of the Hadriatic Gulph, and are separated by shallow waters from the continent. Insensibly something of a federal union was established among them; and, in the twelve principal islands, twelve judges were annually elected. These, in 697, were superseded by a chief, called a Duke or Doge, who was chosen for life, and enjoyed sovereign power: he was elected by a general assembly of the people. At first, all the public concerns of the republic were subject to the controul of that assembly. In 1172, a great council was established, which, insensibly drew to it, the whole administration of affairs. It was chosen out of the body of the people, by twelve persons, elected for that purpose at a general meeting.

In 1298, the council was made hereditary. A conspiracy in 1310, to restore the antient form of government, gave rise to an appointment of twelve commissioners to discover its secret accomplices. That appointment, under the appellation of *the Council of Ten*, was soon after made permanent. In this form, till the late revolution, the government of Venice continued. It was a pure aristocracy:—the councils were omnipotent: the doge was almost a pageant, the people quite a cypher.

About the beginning of the eleventh century, Venice became generally known in Europe, by its extensive and lucrative trade with the sovereigns and states of Italy, Germany, Greece, and Egypt. From a merchant, she became, like our own East India company, a conqueror: by degrees she turned her factories into fortresses, and by conquest or treaty made herself mistress of many towns and ports in Dalmatia, Albania, Greece, and the Morea; and of the islands of Candia, Corfû, and Cephalonia, in the Archipelago.

With equal success, but perhaps without equal wisdom, she then extended her conquests over a considerable part of the adjoining continent of Italy. They often proved to her a source of dispute and war, and drained her of the wealth she received from the sea.

Of the wealth and magnificence of Venice, during the æra of her prosperity, the following account is given by the elegant and nervous pen of Doctor Robertson, (*Historical Disquisition concerning Antient India*, p. 130). “The revenues of the republic, as well as the wealth amassed by individuals, exceeded whatever was elsewhere known. In the magnificence of their houses, in richness of furniture, in profusion of plate, and in every thing which contributed either towards elegance or parade in their mode of living,—the nobles of Venice surpassed the state of the greatest monarch beyond the Alps.—Nor was all this the display of an inconsiderate dissipation, it was the natural consequence of successful industry, which, having accumulated wealth with ease, is intitled to enjoy it in splendour.” —About the year 1420, (Ib. Note 50), “the naval force of the republic consisted of 3000 trading vessels of various dimensions, on board of which were employed 17,000 sailors; of 300 ships of greater force, manned by 8000 sailors; and of 45 large galleasses or carracks, navigated by 11,000 sailors. In public and private arsenals 16,000 carpenters were employed.”

To this high state of prosperity the new system of commerce introduced into Europe, in

consequence of the discovery of America, and the opening of a direct course of navigation to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, were fatal. From that time Venice declined; but, though shorn of her beams, she preserved a dignified independence, till the treaty of Campo Formio consigned her to Austria.

The nobility of Venice is divided into four classes;—1st, The electoral families, descended from the twelve tribunes, who elected the first doge in 697; they subsist to this day: these are the Contarini, Morosini, Gradenigi, Baduari, Tiepoli, Micheli, Sanudi, Memmi, Falieri, Dandali, Polani, and Barozzi: they boast the most antient and purest blood in Europe: four other families, almost as antient, the Justiniani, Cornari, Bragadini, and Bembi, signed with them the act of foundation of the great church of St. George Major, in the year 800:—2d, The families whose ancestors' names are found in the Golden Book or register of nobility, drawn up by Gradenigo at the revolution in 1298:—3d, The eighty families who purchased their nobility:—4th, The foreign families aggregated to the nobility, as the Bentivogli and Pici. The families whose ancestors held a share in the government before 1298, and great merchants, lawyers, physicians, &c. were called Cittadini. Churchmen were excluded from all share in



the government. (See *Travels through France and Italy* in 1745-6, by the Reverend Alban Butler, London, 1803, 8vo. p. 350.)

NOTE V. p. 92.

THE GENOESE imitated, and at one time rivalled the Venetians in trade and conquest. They established factories at Caffa, in the Taurican Chersonesus; at Asoph, on the mouth of the Don; at Smyrna, and in the suburbs of Constantinople. They conquered the islands of Scio, Mitelene, and Tenedos: the kings of Cyprus were tributary to them; they reached the East Indies before the Venetians. In the city of Pisa, they found a formidable rival, but finally overpowered her.

It would have been fortunate for the happiness and prosperity of Venice and Genoa, if a spirit of rivalry had not been carried on between them too far; and the former had confined her enterprizes in the Mediterranean to its eastern, and the latter to its western coasts. But in 1376, they broke out into open war: at first, the Genoese were successful, and once threatened Venice with total destruction; but the superior wisdom and firmness of the Venetians prevailed, and at the sea fight at Chiozza, gave the Genoese a total overthrow. They

acquired by it the complete command of the Hadriatic, the Archipelago, and almost the whole of the Mediterranean. From that time Genoa dates her decline. The politics of the Genoese have always fluctuated:—with some intervals of rational liberty, under the forms of her old constitution, Genoa, in general, has been either in a state of anarchy, or subject to the dukes of Milan, the kings of France, or the marquises of Montferrat. Her misfortunes have been equally owing to the turbulent disposition of the people, and the contentions of the great families, the Dorias, Spinolas, Grimaldi, Fiesqui, Adorni, and Fregosi.

NOTE VI. p. 92.

FLORENCE was included in the celebrated donation of the countess Mecthildis to the popes. It has been mentioned, that the validity of this donation was contested by the emperors, on the ground that, as the Countess died without issue, her possessions reverted to the emperor by escheat. Florence submitted to the emperors, and remained constant to them till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when, in consequence of the tyranny of Frederic II, she threw off their yoke. For a century from that event, she was prosperous

and happy under twelve magistrates, chosen out of the general body of the people, and called Antients. Dissensions then arose among the citizens, which ended in the usurpation of the Medici: from that time the history of Florence is familiar to every reader. The Florentines conquered many cities of Tuscany, and finally annexed Pisa, already weakened by the Genoese, to their territory. They traded extensively, in the East, and carried on a considerable inland commerce.

NOTE VII. p. 92.

SOME of the ITALIAN PRINCES PRESERVED THEIR TERRITORIES FROM THE EFFECTS OF THE GENERAL REVOLT OF THE ITALIAN CITIES;—among them the counts of Savoy held a distinguished rank.

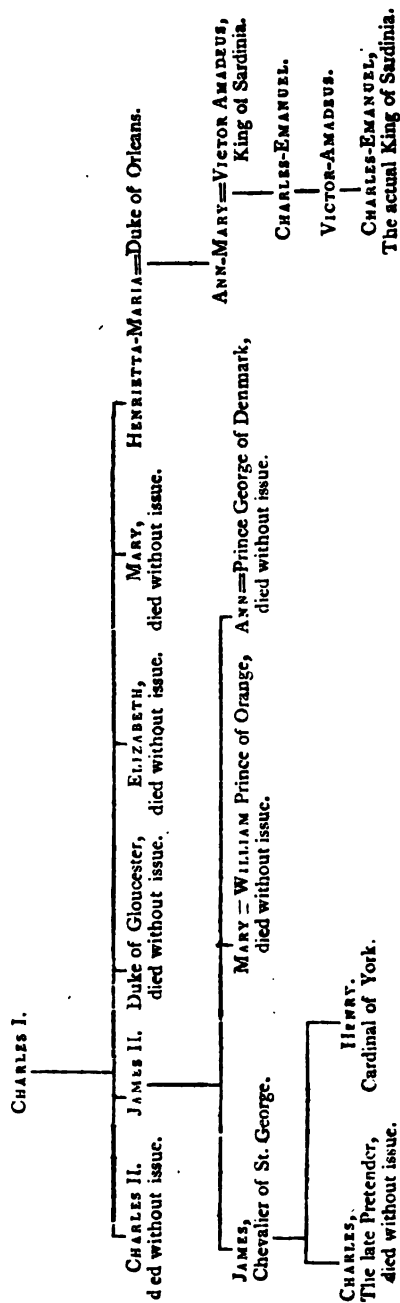
SAVOY was the country of the Allobroges, Piedmont the country of the Salassi, Libyci, and Taurini: they were all vanquished by the Romans, and made a province of the empire, under the appellation of the Cottian Alps. The kings of Savoy derive their origin from Humbert with the White-hands, a son of Beroald, a Saxon prince, better known in romance than history, and said by some to descend from Whitekind. He was called Count of Savoy,

Maurienne, and the Alps. By his marriage with Adelaide, the daughter and heiress of Maimfred, Marquis of Italy, and Count of Susa, Odo the grandson of Humbert, acquired the marquisates of Susa, the dutchy of Turin, Piedmont, and the valley of Aosta. From him thirteen princes, with the ducal title, proceeded. Victor-Amadeus, the thirteenth in succession to him, was crowned king of Sicily in 1713, and king of Sardinia in 1719. The marriage of Amadeus the third, duke of Savoy, with Charlotte, the only daughter and heiress of John, the third king of Cyprus, brought into the house of Savoy the titular kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The families of Nemours, Carignan and Soissons, branched from this house. The first ended in the fifth generation; the second still subsists,—the late unfortunate princess de Lamballe belonged to it; the third ended in prince Eugène, the friend and rival of Marlborough.

It is observable that, if the princes of Savoy had not been excluded by the Act of Settlement from the throne of England, they would be next in succession to it on the demise of the present cardinal York; as they are lineally descended from Henrietta-Maria, the wife of the duke of Orleans, and she is the only child of Charles the first, of whom, if the cardinal were removed, issue would now be living.

## TABLE XII.

*Sardinian Title (excluded by the Act of Settlement) to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*



## NOTE VIII. p. 92.

AFTER the princes of Savoy, the DUKES OF MILAN should be mentioned. They profess to descend from Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards. Boniface, count of Milan and Angleria, was in the eighth line of descent from Desiderius: he had two sons, Azo and Eliprand; the latter obtained the marquise of Milan, and is the patriarch of the dukes of Milan. The name of Visconti, (like our Viscount), at first denoted an office and dignity immediately subordinate to the count, but afterwards became the surname of the family.

In a contest between the nobles and the people of Milan, Atho Visconti their archbishop, was compelled to take part with the former. He gave the command of the military force, and afterwards resigned the whole civil power to his great nephew, Matthew, surnamed the Great. John, a descendant from Matthew, was created duke of Milan in 1396, by the emperor Wenceslaus. His second son Philip-Mary, the third duke of Milan, had no lawful issue, but, by a mistress, had a daughter, Bianca-Mary Visconti, whom he legitimated, and declared heiress of the dukedom of Milan. She married Francis Sforza, the son of Mutius Attendulus, a soldier of fortune, and carried

the dutchy of Milan into his family. It comprized considerable territories on each side of the Po; but in latter times they have not been nearly so considerable as they were in the first erection of the dutchy.

## NOTE IX. p. 92.

THE republics and principalities which have been mentioned, lie in the northern part of Italy; its southern part belongs to THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

1. The extremity of-Italy was planted by colonies of Greeks: from this circumstance, it acquired the appellation of Magna Græcia.— It submitted to the arms of the Romans, and, sharing in the misfortunes of the empire, was successively ravaged by the Visigoths and Vandals. After Italy was reconquered by the arms of Belisarius, Naples was governed by the ex-arch of Ravenna. In 589, Autharis, king of *the Lombards*, conquered the dutchy of Beneventum.

When, in 774, the kingdom of the Lombards was extinguished by Charlemagne, the dutchy of Beneventum survived its downfall; and, during two centuries from that period, was governed by princes of Lombard blood, who were feudataries to the emperor of Ger-

many. The Dutchies of Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi, and the provinces of Puglia and Calabria continued subject to the emperor of Constantinople: the Saracens were masters of Bari, Tarentum and Sicily.

2. In 1016, an inconsiderable body of *Normans* arrived at Salernum, engaged in the service of the Lombard prince, and, about twenty years after, obtained from him a grant of the town of Aversa, (distant about nine miles from Capua), and of the adjacent territory.

In 1035, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville in Normandy arrived in Italy, and were soon placed at the head of the Norman adventurers. Their brothers and successors, William, Dreux and Humphry, extended their conquests, and became dukes of Appulia and Calabria. But Robert Guiscard, their eldest brother, was the founder of the dynasty of Norman sovereigns of Naples. Pope Nicholas II. granted him, what it is hard to prove he had any right to dispose of, the title of Duke of Appulia, with the perpetual sovereignty of that country and of Sicily, if he could conquer it. In performance of the condition, he subdued Sicily; and the earldom of it was assigned to his brother. Then, carrying his arms into Italy, he successively conquered Salernum, Amalfi, Sarentum and Beneventum. Robert was succeeded by



William, his son, and William by his cousin Roger, who assumed the title of king, and thus became founder of the kingdom of Naples, or both the Sicilies.

3. In consequence of a failure of issue male of these princes, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily past to the emperor Henry VI, son of Frederick Barbarossa, by the princess Constantia, the aunt and heiress of William II, the duke of Appulia. Thus it vested in the *Swabian Line of Emperors*; they lost it, in consequence of their disputes with the popes. Availing himself of the minority of Conradine, pope Innocent seized both kingdoms, excommunicated the infant, caused or connived at his being beheaded, and offered the throne to any person who should expel the possessors.

4. Charles of Anjou accepted and succeeded in the enterprize; he was invested with both kingdoms by the pope, under an obligation of homage and fealty, an annual payment of 8000 ducats, and an annual delivery of a white horse: thus he became the founder of the *Angevine line of Neapolitan monarchs*.—The French yoke became so galling to the Sicilians, that, on Easter Tuesday, in the year 1282, the whole island rose and massacred every Frenchman but one: an event, known in history by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. The insurgents

offered the crown to Peter the third, of Arragon; a long war ensued, in the course of which Charles of Anjou died of a broken heart. Charles, his son, was at that time a prisoner in Sicily; he soon recovered his liberty, and, after ineffectual attempts to drive the Arragonese out of Sicily, made a peace with them. Thus the kingdom was divided into two monarchies, the *Angevine monarchy of Naples*, and the *Arragonese monarchy of Sicily*.

5. Charles was succeeded by Robert, his second son; Robert, by his granddaughter Joan: she died without children, and instituted Charles of Durazzo, her heir. On her death, he possessed himself of the kingdom; from him it descended to his son Ladislaus; on the decease of Ladislaus, it descended to Joan II, his sister; and on her decease, Alphonsus III, king of Arragon and Sicily, conquered Naples; and thus the *Crowns of the two Sicilies*<sup>c</sup> were reunited.

The following genealogical table will shew more clearly the devolutions of the Neapolitan crown during this period.

<sup>c</sup> The *Two Sicilies* denote the territory on each side of the streights, *Siciliam extra et ultra Pharum*. It became a common expression after their union in Roger I; but Gioannné, (l. 11. c. iv.) shews that the territory from Capua and Naples to the streights, had, before that event, been called Sicily.

# NORMAN LINE. TANCRED of Hauteville.

ROBERT GUISCARD,  
Duke of Puglia and  
Calabria, + 1085.

ROGER, Duke of  
Puglia and Calabria,  
+ 1111.

WILLIAM, Duke of  
Puglia and Calabria,  
+ 1127.

ROGER,  
Earl of Sic

1. ROGER, K  
the two S  
+ 1

ROGER,  
+ 1146.

4. TANCRED,  
his illegitimate  
son, an usurper,  
+ 1104.

WILLIAM III,  
an usurper,  
deposed by the Emp. HENRY VI.  
+ 1198.

## ANGEVINE LINE.

10. CHARLES I,  
+ 1285.

11. CHARLES II,  
+ 1309.

CHARLES MARTEL,  
+ 1296.

CHARLES ROBERT,  
King of Hungary.  
+ 1342.

1st Husband.

ANDREW

12. ROBERT *the Good*.  
+ 1342.

CHARLES,  
+ 1348.

2d Husband.

13. JOAN I.  
+ 1382.

PHILIP,  
King of Bohemia,  
and Tarentum.

LEWIS of  
Tarentum.

CMA



## NOTE X. p. 106.

To obtain a general notion of THE ELECTORAL FAMILIES,—it may be proper to consider Germany as divided into the Antient Electorates on the North, the Antient Electorates on the South, and the Palatinate and Bohemia as holding central positions,—the former in the west, and the latter in the east of Germany.

Bohemia may be first considered, then passing the ridge, where the Erzeburgh and Sudetic chains of mountain meet, we shall advance into Brandenburg; thence, keeping in a western direction on the north of the Mayne, the electorates of Saxony, Brunswick-Lunéburgh, and the Palatinate may be successively considered in their geographical order,—from the Palatinate we may cross into Bavaria, and thence into Austria, the term of the enquiry.

## X. 1.

BOHEMIA takes its name from the Boii, a Gallo-Germanic tribe, who settled there about the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Soon after the death of the emperor Augustus, they were expelled from it by the Marcomanni, a more

western tribe of the Germans; and those were expelled by the Slavi, a Scythian horde, who, about the year 450, invaded the east of Europe under their chiefs Lecus and Czercus. The former conquered Poland; from him it was long called the country of the Lecks. Czercus conquered Bohemia; from him it was, for some time, called Chescarême; but its antient appellation of Bohemia or Behem was afterwards restored to it. Little of its history is known till the reign of duke Borzivoi of the Chescarémán family, who, in 894, embraced christianity. After him, the country was governed by hereditary dukes: the old line of them, as it is called, terminated in Wratislas the first: his son was honoured with the regal title by the emperor Henry the fourth, in 1086; the same title was occasionally conferred on his successors; but the constant title of King dates only from Premislas the second, in 1199. On the death of Wincelas the fifth, in 1306, the male line of the Chescareman dynasty failed. After a short interval, John count of Luxemburgh, who had married Elizabeth, the sister of Wincelas, succeeded him in the throne. At the battle of Cressy, he was slain by the Black Prince, who took the ostrich feathers which were on the helmet of the count of Luxemburgh, and placed them on his own;

since which time, ostrich feathers have always made a part of the ornaments of the crest of the Prince of Wales.

The king of Bohemia does not contribute to the army of the empire, and is considered to be, almost, if not entirely, independent of the emperor. It is remarkable,—1st, that, at the election of the emperor in 1745, the late empress Maria-Theresa, in quality of queen of Bohemia, was unanimously admitted to vote; which is supposed to have settled the point, that an electoral female voice is valid; and, 2dly, that her imperial majesty declared, in a rescript of 1769, “that the crown of Bohemia, “by virtue of the rights of majesty, originally “granted as its peculiar property, acknowledged no judge, and consequently was under “no obligation to justify its conduct to any “person whomsoever.”

## X. 2.

The Varini and Naithones occupied, in ancient times, the territory of BRANDENBURGH. They were expelled from it by the Winithi, a Slavic horde: from them, in 920, it was conquered by the emperor Henry the first, and he gave it, with the title of Margrave, to Sigefred earl of Rengenheim, a great grandson of Wite-

kind the great. From him, the margraviate descended to Dietricus or Thierry, the eighth margrave of Brandenburg of the Witekindian stem.

The emperor Rudolph deprived him both of the territory and the title, and gave them to Sigefred, the margrave of Stade and Dithmarsen. In that family they continued, till the twelfth century, when, with the dignity of an elector of the empire, they became vested in Albert, a prince of the Ascanian blood. From him it descended to Sigismond the emperor, the sixteenth margrave of Brandenburg of this family. He, in 1415, sold it for 400,000 crowns to Frederick the eleventh, count of Hohenzollern, and margrave of Nuremburgh. For high antiquity, or splendid descent and alliances, few families in Europe can contend with the Hohenzollerns. If they cannot prove their descent from Pharamond king of France, they can shew that Barthold, their patriarch, was count of Zollern, and considered among the most illustrious families in Germany in the beginning of the eleventh century. To him, Frederick count of Zollern, the purchaser of the electorate of Brandenburg, was fourth in succession.

From him ten margraves descended, in a regular succession of males through males—





S. JOHN + 1420.

John-Sigismond, the eighth of them, married Ann, the heiress of Prussia, Cleves and Juliers: she was the granddaughter of Albert, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who seized Prussia in 1525. George-William, the son of John-Sigismond, was singularly unsuccessful in all his enterprizes. Frederick-William, his son and immediate successor, restored the fortunes of the family: he was called the Great Elector. His son assumed the title of king of Prussia. The ceremony was performed at Koningsbergh, on the 18th of January 1701, he himself placing the crown on his head. He had previously secured the concurrence of the emperor, to whom, in the wars for the Spanish succession, he had rendered essential services: his title was acknowledged with little reluctance, by all the sovereigns of Europe. The last king of Prussia was his grandson.—The following is an outline of the Hohenzollern descent, so far as relates to the subject of these sheets.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> SEE the Table fronting this page.

## X. 3.

THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY profess to derive their descent from Witekind the duke of Saxony, who (it has been already mentioned) was conquered, after a war of thirty years, by Charlemagne. The same descent is claimed by several of the most illustrious houses of Europe: the nature of their pretensions will appear in the following table, which shews what are called, by foreign genealogists, the *Four Fruitful Branches of the Witekindian Trunk*.

The electors of Saxony are traced from Herman Billung, created duke of Saxony by the emperor Otho the first, in 960. Magnus was the fifth and last duke of Saxony of this line.

On the failure of issue of his body, the ducal honours past to Otho the Rich, a count of the house of *Ascania*, who had married Elicke the youngest daughter of Magnus. The Ascanian princes (if fables may be mentioned) derive their origin from Askenaz, the grandson of Japhet, and first king of the Germans. A more probable, but still a suspicious account, traces them to Bernwald, a Saxon chieftain, on whom, in 514, Thierry bestowed the towns of Ballend-

\* SEE the Table fronting this page.

# FOUR FRUITFUL BR

GEVA his first  
Sister of GOLTRAI.  
of Denmark.

## BRANCH OF SAXONY.

## BRANCH OF RENGLEHEIM.

BRUNE, Duke of  
Saxony, + 843.

WELPATAS, Count of  
Rengleheim.

LUDOLPH the  
Great, Duke of  
Saxony.

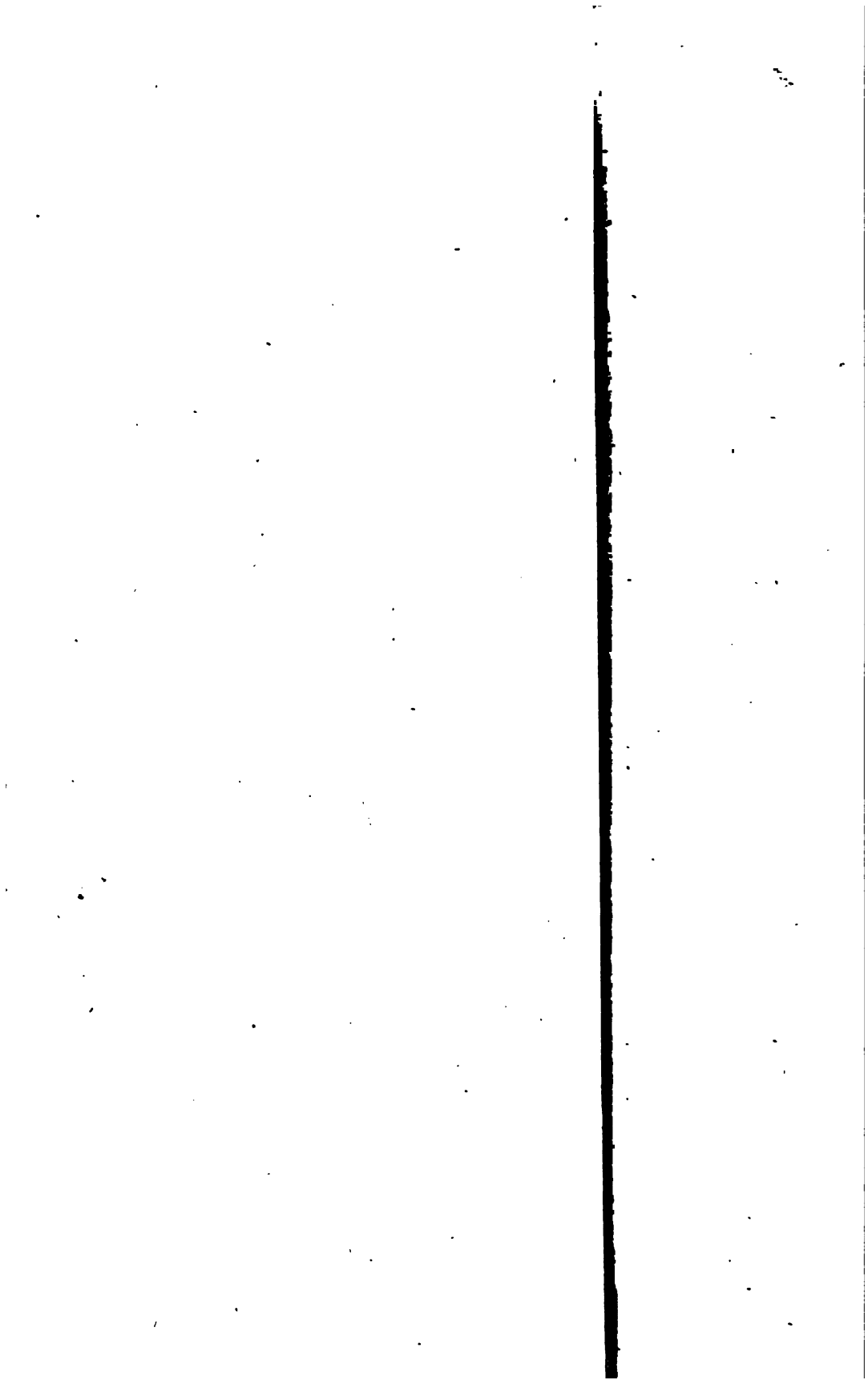
THIERRY.

Saxon Emperors;  
Saxon Dukes of  
Bavaria;  
Saxon Marquises  
of Brunswick;  
Saxon Dukes on  
the Weser.

Counts of  
Oldenburgh;  
and  
Dalmenteim.

Dukes of  
Sleswick;  
and  
Holstein.

Kings  
of  
Denmark.



stadt and Atcherstoben. From him Otho the Rich derived his descent: Bernard, his grandson, was the first elector of Saxony.

The emperor Sigismond, on the decease of Bernard, conferred the electorate on Albert, his son: Albert was succeeded by his younger son, whose great grandson Albert the third, was the last elector of Saxony of the Ascanian line.

After him, the electorate was successively enjoyed by Frederick the Warlike, and Frederick the Wise, of the *Thuringian* branch of the Witekindian stem: the last had two sons, Ernest and Albert; the former is the patriarch of the *Ernestine*, the latter is the patriarch of the *Albertine line*, of the Saxon princes. The protestant religion has the greatest obligations to the princes of the Ernestine line: Frederick, the eldest son of Ernest, was Luther's first patron and defender; John, the second son of Ernest, was the greatest promoter of the protestation against the church of Rome, from which the protestants have derived their appellation.

In 1547, Charles the fifth deprived John-Frederick, the son of Ernest, of his electorate, and conferred it on Maurice, the grandson of Albert, the younger brother of Ernest, and

the patriarch of the Albertine line. John-George, the younger nephew of Maurice, celebrated three jubilees; the first, in 1617, in memory of Luther; the second, in 1630, in memory of the Augsburg confession; and the third, in 1655, in memory of the peace of Passau. In 1697, Frederick-Augustus, then the hereditary prince, afterwards elector of Saxony, embraced the Roman Catholic religion; but neither he nor his successors have attempted to constrain the consciences of their subjects.

The following table shews the descent of this Electoral House of Saxony.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> SEE the Table fronting this page.



WOLFFHIL, + 1125.

### THE THURINGIAN BRANCH.

On the death of the last ALBERT without issue,  
Emperor Sigismund conferred the electoral dign

9. FREDERICK the Warlike,  
Margrave of Thuringia; + 142

10. FREDERICK the Mild; + 146

### THE ERNESTINE BRANCH.

11. ERNEST, + 1486.

12. FREDERICK the Wise, + 1525.

13. JOHN the Constant, ...

14. JOHN the Magnanimous,  
of the Electorate by Chai

JOHN-FREDERICK,  
Patriarch of the House  
of Saxe-Cobourgh.

I  
C



## X. 4.

FROM SAXONY, we pass into THE ELECTORATE OF HANOVER. An English reader naturally dwells on every thing which relates to the fortunes and fates of the princes of this dynasty.

It has been said that not fewer than one thousand works have been written on the Genealogy and History of THE GUELPHS: the points to be particularly attended to in it, are their Italian Origin, German Principality, and English Monarchy.

I. *The Italian Descent* of this illustrious family from Azo, who married Cunegunda, the heiress of the Guelphs of Altorp, is unquestionable: with great learning and clearness, Scheidius, in his *Origines Guelphicæ*, has attempted to shew the Guelphic extraction of Azo.

According to him, two brothers, Ethico and Guelph, were princes of the Skyrri, a nation in Holsâce, not far from the southern bank of the Eider. The former was a general of Attila's army; and had two sons, Odoacer, who, by his conquest of Italy, put an end to the Roman empire of the west, and Guelph, who

settled in the Tyrol. Odoacer, with Thilanes his only son, were killed in 493. A count of Bavaria, whose name is not known, and who died in 687, was sixth in succession to Guelph. He had issue two sons, Adelbert count of Bavaria and patriarch of the marquisses of Tuscany, and Ruthard, an Alemannian count. Azo the second, was ninth in succession to Adelbert; Cunegunda was heir and ninth in succession to Ruthard. Azo and Cunegunda intermarried about 1050, and thus, if Scheidius's scheme be relied on, the two branches of the Guelphic stem were reunited, after a lapse of more than three centuries.

A son, called Guelph, was the issue of Azo and Cunegunda. After the decease of Cunegunda, Azo married Gersenda, a daughter of Hugh count of Maine, and had issue by her a son, called Fulk, from whom the dukes of Modena are lineally descended. Guelph, the son of Azo, by Cunegunda, had two sons, Guelph, and Henry the Black: the former married the princess Mechtildis, the heiress of the elder branch of the house of Esté, renowned for her celebrated donation (which has been mentioned) to the see of Rome. She died without issue, but her husband retained some part of her hereditary possessions, and died without issue.

II. Henry the Black was the founder of the *German Principalities* possessed by his family. He married Wolphildis, the sole heiress of Herman of Billung, the duke of Saxony, and of his possessions on the Elbe. His son, Henry the Proud, married Gertrude, the heiress of the dutchies of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hano-ver. Thus Henry the Proud,

1st. As representing Azo, his great grandfather,—inherited some part of the Italian possessions of the younger branch of the Atestine family: they chiefly lay on the southern side of the fall of the Po into the Hadriatic:

2d. As representing count Boniface, the father of the princess Mechtildis,—he inherited the Italian possessions of the elder branch of the Atestine family: they chiefly lay in Tuscany:—some part of the possessions of the princess Mechtildis also devolved to him:

3d. As representing Cunegunda, his grandmother,—he inherited the possessions of the Guelphs at Altorf.

4th. As representing his mother, the sole heiress of Herman of Billung,—he inherited the possessions of the Saxon family on the Elbe:

5th. And through his wife,—he transmitted

the dutchies of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hanover.

All these possessions descended to Henry the Lion, the son of Henry the Proud. He added to them Bavaria, on the cession of Henry Jossemargott,—and Lunenburgh and Mecklenburgh by conquest. Thus he became possessed of an extensive territory,—he himself used to describe it in four German verses, which have been thus translated:

*Henry the Lion, is my name:  
Through all the earth, I spread my fame,  
For, from the Elbe, unto the Rhine,  
From Hartz, unto the sea,—All's Mine.*

In other words, his possessions filled a considerable portion of the territory between the Rhine, the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Tyber.

Unfortunately for him, in the quarrels between the pope and the emperor Barbarossa, he sided with the former. The emperor confiscated his possessions; but returned him his allodial estates in Brunswick, Hanover, and Lunenburgh: he died in 1195. By his first wife, he had no issue male: his second wife was Maud, the daughter of Henry the second, king of England. By her, he had several sons; all of whom died, except William, called of Winchester, from his being born in that city. Wil-

liam of Winchester had issue Otho, called Puer, or the Boy.

At the decease of Otho Puer, the Partition of this Illustrious House commences. An outline of it will appear in the following \* table, which shews the Guelphic genealogy, from the marriage of Azo with Cunegunda to the present time.

The subject of these sheets leads only to the Lunenburgh branches of the Guelphic shoot of the Estensine line.

On the death of Otho the Boy, Brunswick and Lunenburgh, the only remains of the splendid possessions of his grandfather, William the Proud, were divided between his two sons, John and Albert: Lunenburgh was assigned to the former, Brunswick to the latter. Thus the former became the patriarch of, what is called, *the Old House of Lunenburgh*. Otho his son, received Hanover, as a fief from William-Sigefred the bishop of Hildesheim. Otho had four sons; Otho his first son, succeeded him; and dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother William with-the-large-feet. He died in 1369, without male issue; the two other sons of Otho the father, also died without male issue.

\* SEE the Table fronting the last page of this Division.

Thus there was a general failure of issue male of John, the patriarch of the old house of Lunenburgh. By the influence of the emperor Charles the fourth, Otho elector of Saxony, who had married Elizabeth, the daughter of William, succeeded to the dutchy. He died without issue, and left it, by his will, to his uncle Wincelaus, elector of Saxony. It was contested with him by Magnus Torquatus duke of Saxony;—the contest ended in a compromise; under which Bernard, the eldest son of Torquatus Magnus, obtained it, and became the patriarch of *the Middle House of Lunenburgh*: he died in 1434. After several descents, it vested in Ernest of Zell, who introduced the Lutheran religion into his states.

After his decease, his sons Henry and William for some time reigned conjointly; but William persuaded his brother to content himself with the country of Danneburgh; while he himself reigned over all the rest, and thus became the patriarch of the *New House of Brunswick-Lunenburgh*.

He left seven sons; they agreed to cast lots which should marry, and to reign according so their seniority. The lot fell to George, the sixth of the sons: Frederick was the survivor of them.

On his decease, the dutchy descended to



Ernest Augustus, the son of George, with whom the *Electoral House of Lunenburgh* commences. His reign is remarkable for two circumstances;—his advancement to the electoral dynasty, and his wife *Sophia's* being assigned, by an act of the British parliament, to be the royal stem of the protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland.

III. On the demise of queen Anne, George his son, in virtue of this act of parliament, succeeded to the *British Monarchy*.

The house of Brunswick-Lunenburgh is now divided into two branches, the German and the English. The former, under the title of Brunswick-Lunenburgh and Woffenbuttell, possesses the dutchies of Brunswick and Woffenbuttell, and the counties of Blackenburgh and Reinskin, and reckons 160,000 subjects:—the English, under the title of Brunswick-Lunenburgh and Hanover, and with the electoral dignity, possesses the electorate of Hanover, the dutchies of Lunenburgh, Zell, Calemberg, Grubenhagen, Deepholt, Bentheim, Lawenburgh, Bremen, and Verdun; and counts 740,000 subjects.

The most remarkable events in the history of the English line of the house of Lunenburgh, are thus summarily mentioned by Mr. Noble,

in his *Genealogical history of the present royal families of Europe*.

“ Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, married, 1650, to Sophia, granddaughter of king James the first, and daughter of Elizabeth, Princess-Royal of Great Britain. By the treaty of Westphalia he obtained, that one of his family should be elected bishop of Osnaburgh alternately with one of the Roman catholic religion; and, accordingly, upon the death of cardinal Wirtemberg in 1668, he became bishop of that see: in 1692, he was raised to the dignity of elector, which was to descend to his family; the office of great standard bearer was to have been added to it by the emperor Leopold, but he was prevented doing it by the ducal house of Wirtemberg’s protesting against it; the house of Hanover now is the only electoral family without an hereditary office; but they have assumed that of arch-treasurer of the empire. He died at Herenhausen, February 3, 1698.

“ George Lewis succeeded his father in the electorate of Hanover and dutchy of Brunswick-Lunenburg; and upon the death of his uncle and father-in-law, George-William, to that of Zell, and upon that of queen Anne,

“ to the kingdom of Great Britain: he died  
 “ suddenly at Osnaburgh, June 11th, 1727. He  
 “ was one of the most fortunate princes that  
 “ has lived in Europe, which his prudence and  
 “ valour entitled him to: his predilection for  
 “ Hanover, though natural, was much disliked  
 “ by his other subjects.

“ George Augustus II, created Prince of  
 “ Wales 1714, succeeded to Great Britain and  
 “ Hanover, and died suddenly, October 25,  
 “ 1760, in the height of glory: he was a just  
 “ and merciful prince, but resembled his father  
 “ in his too great attachment to his electoral  
 “ dominions.

“ Frederick-Lewis, prince of Wales, came  
 “ into England 1729, died March 20th, 1751,  
 “ universally regretted.

“ George the third, created prince of Wales  
 “ 1751, succeeded October 21, 1760, crowned  
 “ September 22, 1761, gave peace to Europe  
 “ 1762, to the blessings of which he devoted  
 “ his reign till it was fatally disturbed by the  
 “ rebellion in America. France and Spain hav-  
 “ ing espoused their cause, a war was declared  
 “ against them, and lately his majesty found it  
 “ expedient to commence hostilities with Hol-  
 “ land, for her perfidious conduct to her old  
 “ ally. His Majesty is, in an eminent degree,  
 “ religious, just, and merciful; his conjugal

“ and paternal tenderness; his taste for and patronage of the fine arts are universally known and acknowledged.”

#### X. 5.

FROM the electorate of Hanover, we descend into THE PALATINATE. It derives its name from the office of Count-Palatine, which, in the middle age, the emperors used to confer on those who, in his name, administered justice to the empire. Originally there were two: one towards the Rhine, to whose jurisdiction Franconia, and the neighbouring provinces were subject;—the other in the North, to whom the administration of justice in Saxony, and in the rest of the countries, governed by the Saxon law, was confided. At first, they were personal offices, afterwards they became hereditary, and the possessors of them made great acquisitions by purchases, agreements, imperial donations, and marriages; and thus formed by degrees a considerable principality.

1st. At first, the palatines of the Rhine were the dukes of Bavaria of the house of Wittelsbach, a castle in the dutchy of Bavaria, near Aicha on the Paar, which runs into the Danube near Ingoldstad. The last of this family, in whom these dignities were united, was Lewis

The following is *Scheidius's*

A GU

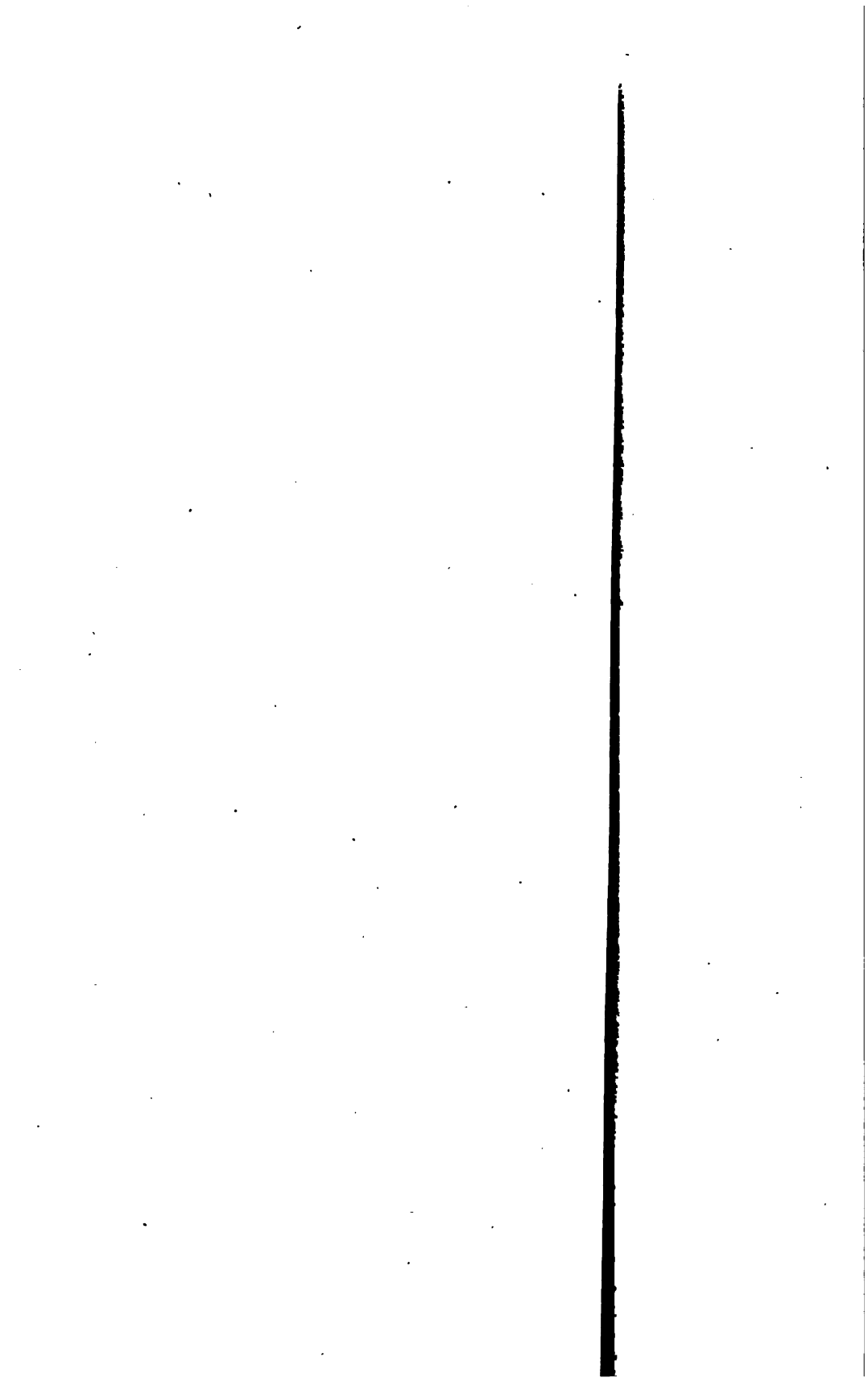
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      ┌───
      | ETHICO.
      |
      | ODOACER.
      |
      | THELANES.
  
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      ┌───
      | ADALBERT.
      |
      | BONIFACE.
      |
      | BONIFACE.
      |
      | ADALBERT.
      |
      └───
          |
          | BONIFACE.a
          |
          | SIGEFRIED.
          |
          | ATTO
          |
          | THEODIVALD.
          |
          | BONIFACE.
          |
          └───
              |
              | MECTHILDIS ─── GUELPH.
  
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<sup>a</sup> BONIFACE was the younger brother.



# GENEALOGY OF

*First Wife.*

CUNEGUNDA

Count BONIFACE.

GUI

MECTHILDIS GUELPH

+ 1115.

OTTO, Emperor of Germ  
at the battle of Bouvi  
in 1218, leaving four  
whom died without iss

Th  
Hc

✠ ✠

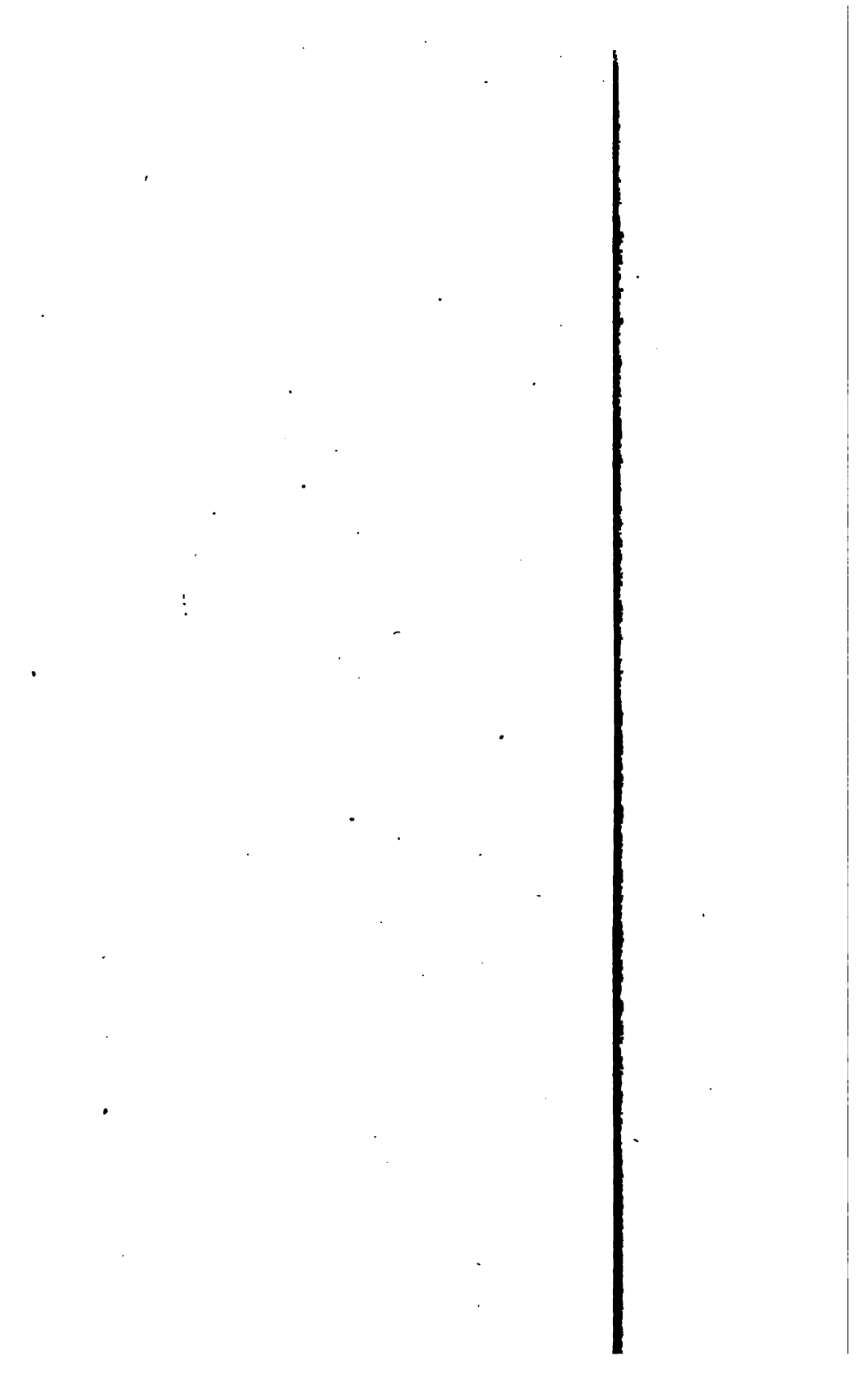
✠

JAMES I, King of England and Scotland.

HENRY

CHARLES I, + 1649.

ELIZAB





the Severe, who died in 1294. He had two sons, Lewis and Rudolph. The first obtained the dutchy of Bavaria for his portion, and was afterwards elected emperor. Rudolph obtained the palatinate for his portion, he is the patriarch of the *Rudolphine or Old Electoral Line of the palatine family*; he died in 1319.

2d. Upon the decease and failure of issue of Otho-Henry, the twelfth elector of this line, the palatinate passed to Frederick of the house of Simmeren. With him the *Middle Line of the palatine family* is supposed to begin. Frederick, his great grandson, was deposed, and the Upper palatinate, with the electoral dignity, was bestowed upon Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. After his decease, Charles-Lewis, the surviving son of Frederick, was re-established in the Lower palatinate. At the treaty of Westphalia, he was created eighth elector of the empire, under the title of Great Treasurer of the empire.

3d. Charles, his son, died without issue; on his death the electorate descended to prince William of the Newburgh branch of the family of Deux-ponts, and thus he became the founder of *The palatine line of the House of Newburgh, or the New Electoral Line of the palatine family*. He had several sons; John-William-Joseph, the eldest of them, died without issue; Charles-

Philip, the second of them, left no issue male, but had three daughters; the two eldest of whom died without issue; Sophia-Augusta, the youngest of them, married Joseph-Charles-Emanuel, the hereditary prince of the Sultzbach line of the house of Newburgh: they had issue one child, Mary-Elizabeth, who married Charles-Philip-Theodore, who was son and heir apparent of John-Christian-Joseph, her father's brother, and who consequently was her first cousin. In her right he succeeded to the palatinate: he succeeded also, as will be afterwards mentioned, to the electorate of Bavaria.

This will appear by an inspection of the genealogical table at the end of the next article,

## X. 6.

BAVARIA was antiently inhabited by the Vindelici:—they were dispossessed of the country by the Boii.

1. All historians agree, that the house of Bavaria is one of the most antient and illustrious of the German families. Several princes, with the title of duke of Bavaria, are mentioned before the time of the emperor Charlemagne. Thassillo, the last of them, was conquered and deposed by that emperor. Lewis the

Debonnaire, the son of Charlemagne, united Pannonia and Bavaria, and conferred them, as a dutchy, with the title of Bavaria, on his second son. From him the dutchy passed, through a series of princes, to Henry the Lion. In his time it comprized a much greater extent of territory than the modern Bavaria, as from east to west, it extended from the mountains of Franconia to the frontiers of Hungary, and from north to south it extended from the palatinate to the Adriatic Gulph. *Antient Bavaria* also comprehended the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Austria, and other states. What at present is called Bavaria, lies between Bohemia, Austria, Franconia, and the Tyrol.

2. When Henry the Lion was proscribed by Frederick Barbarossa in 1180, the emperor gave that part of his territory, which forms the *Modern Bavaria*, to Otho, a prince of the house of Wittlesbach, and created him duke of Bavaria. From him the territory and title descended to Maximilian, who succeeded to them upon his father's resignation in 1597. In 1620, the emperor Ferdinand conferred on him the electoral dignity. At first it was conferred on him for his life only; but, at a diet held at Prague, it was conferred on him and his heirs for ever. In 1777, this line expired in the person of Maximilian-Joseph, the fourth in descent from

him, who died without male issue.—This will appear in the following table.<sup>a</sup>

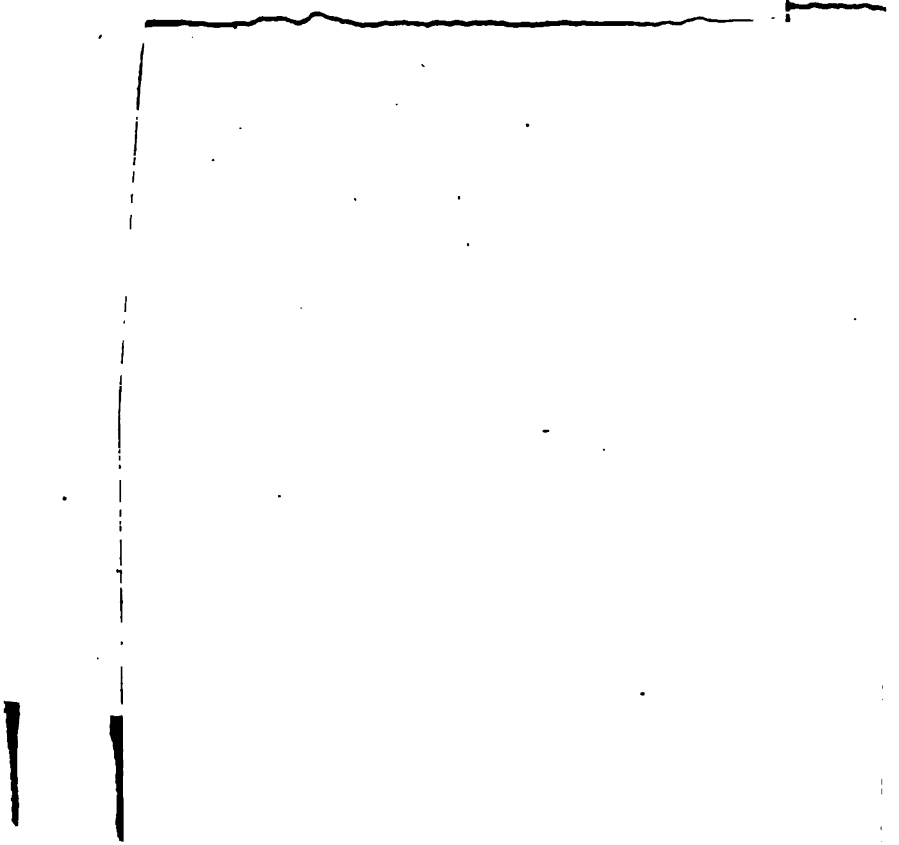
Upon the death of Maximilian-Joseph, without male issue, the palatine elector asserted his right of succession, as nearest relation, under duke Lewis the Severe, who died in 1294, and was the common ancestor of both families, in virtue of Family Compacts concluded in the years 1706, 1771, and 1774. By the court of Vienna, a considerable part of the territory was claimed as an escheat. Other claims were urged: a war actually broke out;—it was concluded by the peace of Teschen, in 1779; by which, with a small exception, the Palatine-Electoral house was allowed to retain the Bavarian territories, and to vote in the diet as elector of Bavaria.

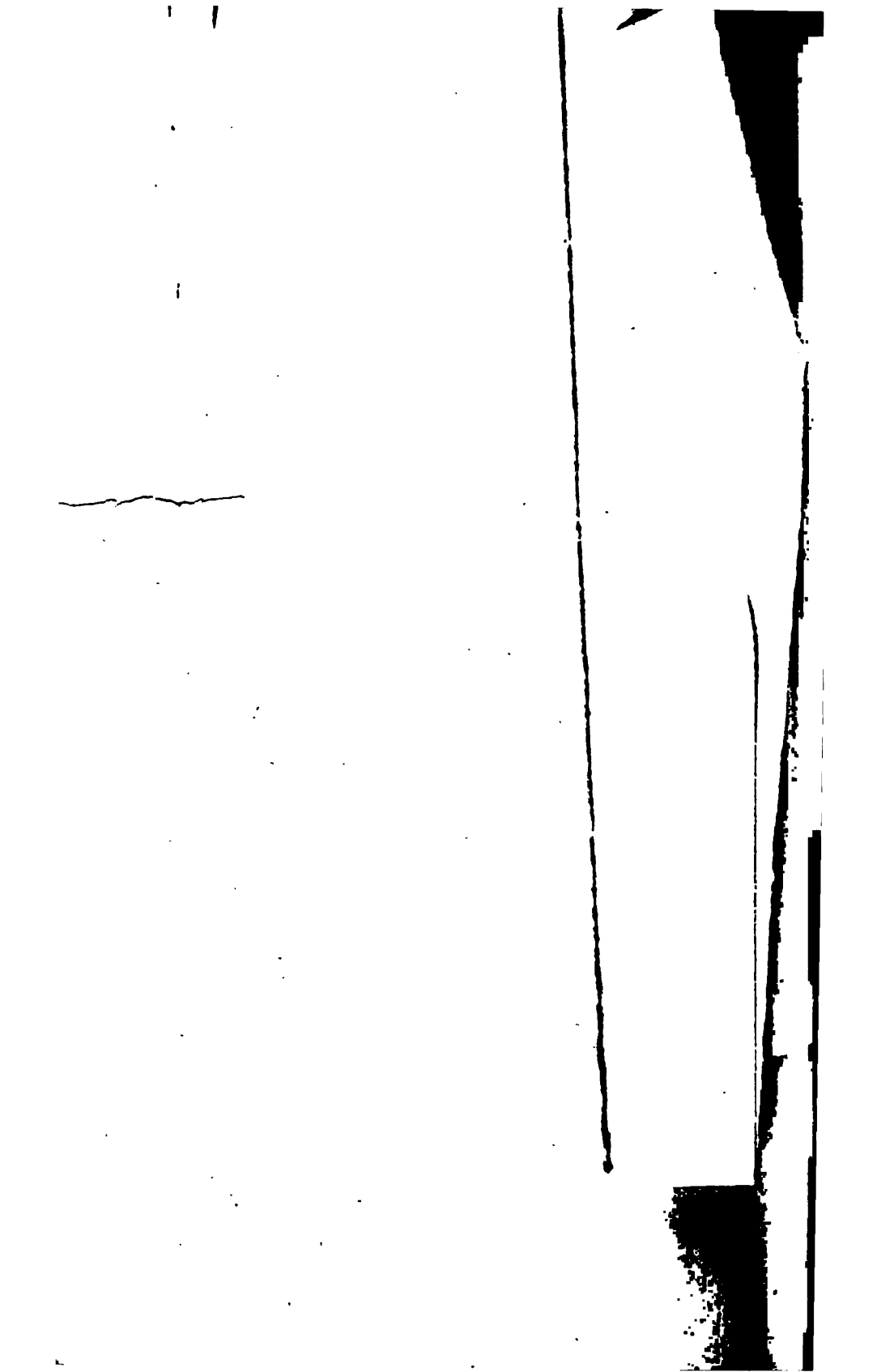
Charles-Philip-Theodore died, without issue, in 1799: both the electorates then vested in Maximilian, a prince of Deux-ponts, the reigning elector.

NOTE XI. p. 106.

THE POSSESSIONS OF FIVE POWERFUL FAMILIES CENTERED IN CHARLES THE BOLD, the father of Mary, the wife of the emperor Maximilian.

<sup>a</sup> SEE Table fronting this page.





1. Burgundy and Franche-Comté may be considered as his *Patrimonial Estates*:

2. From *Margaret, the heiress of the Counts of Flanders*, and the wife of Philip the Bold, his great grandfather, he inherited Flanders, Artois, Mechlin, Namur, and Antwerp: the latter, which included Brusselles, Louvain, and Nivelles, was called the Marquisate of the Sacred Empire:

3. From *Johanna, the heiress of the Dukes of Brabant and Limburgh*, he acquired those dutchies:

4. From *Jacobæa, the heiress of the Counts of Holland*, he acquired Holland, Friezland, Zealand, and Hainault:

5. And from *Elizabeth, the heiress of the Dukes of Luxemburgh*, he acquired that dutchy.

These twelve provinces,—Flanders, Artois, Mechlin, Namur, Antwerp, Brabant, Limburgh, Holland, Friezland, Zealand, Hainault, and Luxemburgh, descended to the emperor Charles the fifth, the grandson of Maximilian: he purchased Utrecht, Overysse, Groningen, Gueldres, and Zutphen. These seventeen provinces formed the Netherlands: Charles the fifth annexed them to the crown of Spain, and resigned them, with that monarchy, to Philip the second, his son.

In 1581, the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezeland, Groningen, Overysse, and Gueldres, revolted from Philip, and proclaimed themselves free. They formed themselves into a confederacy, which, from the number of provinces composing it, is called The Seven United Provinces; and from Holland, the chief of them, is called the Republic of Holland. In the time of Tacitus, these territories were chiefly possessed by the Batavi.

The ten remaining provinces were preserved to Spain, by the ability of the duke of Parma, the hero of Strada's history. Philip the second, gave them in marriage with his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, to archduke Albert, the son of Maximilian the second, but on condition they should revert to Spain, if she died without issue:—that event having taken place, they reverted to the crown of Spain.

They were often the theatre of the wars between France and Spain; and once France had nearly made an entire conquest of them: but, first by the peace of Radstadt, and afterwards by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were assigned to Austria, with the exception of Artois, the Cambresis, part of Flanders, part of Hainault, and part of Luxemburgh. The adjacent towns and territories of Menin, Tournay, Furnes, Winoque, Loo, Dixmude, Ipres,



Roussellar, Pepperingen, Warneton, Commenes, and Warwick, were also assigned to the emperor. Soon after the beginning of the French revolution, France made an easy conquest of them all: and, under the name of Belgium, they now form a part of the One and Indivisible Empire. Speaking generally, the Austrian Netherlands, in their original extent, were filled by the Menapii of Tacitus.

## NOTE XII. p. 106.

THE following miscellaneous observations on ROMAN, GERMAN, FRENCH, AND ENGLISH NOBILITY, AND THE SIXTEEN QUARTERS OF NOBILITY, may not improperly accompany the preceding genealogical deductions.

1. The *ROMANS* were divided into *Ingenui* and *Servi*, or Freemen and Slaves: the lowest class of the *Ingenui*, were those who descended from free parents, and who themselves had always been free: the class immediately above them was composed of those, whose families, for several descents, had been free: on this account they were said to have *Gentem et Familiam*: the next and highest class consisted of the *Nobiles*. At first the *Nobiles* consisted entirely of the Patricians, who descended from the two hundred Senators chosen by Romulus,

and the hundred chosen by Tarquin: to them, in subsequent times, were added those who were raised to the Curule magistracies, and the Senators. These were noble during their lives; and, if both the son and the grandson of such a magistrate, or of a senator, filled any of these magistracies or were senators, the grandson's title to nobility was perfect, and he transmitted it to his descendants. The nobles had *Jus Imaginum*, or a right to have their images placed in a conspicuous place in their houses, and borne in processions; but the first acquirer of nobility was entitled only to his own image, and was, therefore, called *Novus Homo*.

2. The general division of the *ANTIEN*  
*GERMANS* was into *Freemen* and *Slaves*. Among the freemen, those who commanded the armies or took a lead in the councils of the state were particularly distinguished; from them, the prince was usually elected. In the middle age, the same division was continued, the *Nobiles* being distinguished from the *Ingenui*, or general body of freemen. The bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, ranked among the former; the other churchmen among the latter. From the former, the king naturally chose his guards, officers, advisers and companions; from among their followers, the chiefs

naturally chose theirs. At all times the dignity of the parent reflects on his issue; among the Germans it gave the descendants of illustrious parents an hereditary consequence, and insensibly an hereditary rank: this produced the lineage royal, the lineage noble, and the lineage purely free.

The first was composed of *Princes*, or those who claimed royal descent; the second of *Dukes, Counts, Marquises, Barons and Knights*. The *Knights* were divided into Knights Banneret, who had the right of carrying a banner, to which fifty soldiers, at least, were attached, and Knights Batchelors, who served under another's banner:—After the Knight came the *Esquire*, who carried his shield, and he also was noble.—After the Esquire, came the mere freeman.

Such was the antient nobility of the Germans, and of the Franks, their descendants. Afterwards it was acquired, 1st, by the grant of a noble fief, or a fief which immemorially had conferred nobility on its possessor;—2dly, by filling any of the great offices of state, or any of the great offices in the king's household, or any high office of magistrature;—and, 3dly, by letters of nobility.

It should, however, be observed, that it was in early times only, that the possession of a

Noble Fief conferred nobility. The Ordinance of Blois, (article 258), expressly provided, that non-nobles should not be ennobled by the acquisition of a Noble Fief.

After the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty, Germany was partitioned by a multitude of princes, bishops, abbots, and male and females Nobles, who, under the various names of Dukes, Princes, Counts, Marquises, Lords, Margraves, Burgraves, Rheingraves, and other more or less known denominations, possessed the rights appropriated to sovereigns: but all of them recognized the emperor as their Feudal Lord, and all were obliged to furnish him with a certain number of soldiers. They were principally divided into the Primitive States, or those which had uniformly been held of the emperor, as the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, the Palatinate, and several bishopricks:—those, which arose on the ruin of the Guelphic family, in consequence of the confiscation of the possessions of Henry the Lion; those, which arose from the ruins of the Suabian family;—and, those which, (principally during the long Interregnum), arose from other causes.

3. A similar division of nobility took place in *FRANCE*, but, from the time of the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne of France, it was the uniform endeavour of the French monarchs

to lower the territorial power and local influence of the nobility: their privileges, the French monarch always respected.

By degrees, all the great fiefs were annexed to the crown; and the inferior nobility were curtailed of their territorial power and influence. — Insensibly they became a privileged and favoured order of the state; enjoying many splendid prerogatives, but wholly dependent on the king, and subject to the law.

They were divided into three classes; the Nobles of Name and Arms,—the Nobles of Race and Extraction,—and the Ennobled.—*The Nobles of Name and Arms*, were those who could prove their nobility from the time when fiefs became hereditary, which in Germany was the accession of the Suabian line; in France, the accession of Hugh Capet:—*The Nobles of Race and Extraction* were those, who could prove a century of nobility in their family; —in respect to the *Ennobled*, three distinctions were observed; High Offices, as those of Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seal, immediately conferred nobility on the persons to whom they were granted, and the immediate transmissibility of it to their descendants. Certain inferior offices conferred an inchoate or initiate nobility, which, if both the son and the grandson of the party held such an office, vested a

complete nobility in the grandson, and it then became transmissible to the lineage of the first grantee;—Nobility acquired by Magistracy, was called Nobility of the Robe.

In France, and all military countries, Military Nobility stands much higher than Nobility of the Robe: the Robe did not, however, degrade the military nobleman. Consequently, a nobleman of name and arms, by filling an office of magistrature, did not lose, or taint, in the slightest degree, his military nobility.

Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, Viscounts and Barons, as such, were not noble. Almost always, they were of noble birth; but the King might create them from the non-nobles; and when he intended to confer such a dignity on a non-noble, he previously ennobled him. The princes of the blood were out of the line, and preceded all.

At court, and at ceremonies and assemblies, held by the officers of the crown, in that capacity, the dukes and peers, and the hereditary dukes, had precedence; and a precedence was there allowed to the Marechaux de France, to the knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and to those who commanded nobility, as Governors of Provinces, and Lieutenants-General. With this single

exception, all the nobility of France, whether Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Viscounts, or Barons, were, in all respects, of the same degree.—Public opinion made a difference among them;—it was founded on the antiquity of their rank, and the illustration of their families by dignities and alliances.—Thus, in public opinion, the Baron de Montmorency was, at an immeasurable space, above the Duke de Laynes; and the Count de Rieux ranked much higher than the Prince de Poix.

In England it is often said, that among the French, nobleman and gentleman were convertible terms, every nobleman being a gentleman, every gentleman being a nobleman. But the expression is inaccurate;—every French gentleman was a nobleman, but every French nobleman was not a gentleman. A person to whom nobility was granted, or who was appointed to a charge conferring nobility, the transmissibility of which was suspended till it vested in his second descendant, was noble: but neither he nor his son was a gentleman; the grandson was the first gentleman of the family. Thus, in France, gentleman was an higher appellation than nobleman:—Francis the first, styled himself the first gentleman of his kingdom: the king's brother, was Monsieur,

the first gentleman among the subjects of the French king.

In France, trade in general, and farming the lands of another, derogated from nobility. At any time, within a century after the first act of derogation, the derogated nobleman, unless he had been bankrupt or otherwise disgraced, might easily obtain letters of relief or rehabilitation. After that term, he could only be ennobled by a new title.

In Brittany, when a nobleman engaged in trade, his nobility was said to sleep; the instant he quitted trade, paid his debts, fulfilled all his mercantile engagements, and entered this on the public registers, he was restored to his nobility: Under these circumstances, a nobleman of Brittany was considered noble, not only within Brittany, but in every other part of the French dominions.

The privileges annexed to nobility in France were very considerable: the principal of them were, an exclusive right to assist at the assemblies of the nobility; to be admitted into certain orders and chapters; 2. Exemption from *bannalité* and *corvées*, personal servitudes, the *taille*, quartering of soldiers, and the duty of *franc-fief*. 3. A right to carry arms, to wear coat-armour with a crest, and to be judged, in cri-



minal matters, by the Tournelle, and the Great Chamber of Parliament.—The dukes and peers were intitled to a seat in parliament, and to be tried by their peers.

In France, nobility had become very venal; but this was not peculiar to France: in 1750, the court of Vienna published at Milan, a tarif, fixing the price at which the title of prince, duke, marquis, or count, might be purchased.

The Germans carried their notions of nobility further than the French;—the Spaniards further than the Germans. “We,” said the Justiza of Arragon, in the name of the nobility, to the king, when they swore allegiance to him, “we, who are each of us as good “as you, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights and “liberties; but, if not, not.”—When the duke of Vendôme made the Spanish nobility sign a declaration of allegiance to Philip the fifth, most of them added to their names, the words “Noble as the King.”—The duke bore this with tolerable patience; but could not contain himself, when one of them, after these words, added, “And a little more”—“Heavens!” exclaimed the duke, “You don’t call “in question the nobility of the house of “France, the most antient in Europe.”—“By

“no means,” replied the Spaniard, “but, my lord duke, please to consider that after all, Philip the fifth is a Frenchman, and I am a Castilian.”

IV. From what has been mentioned, the difference between French and *ENGLISH NOBILITY* is obvious. While in France, a gentleman is a nobleman's highest appellation, an English nobleman, both in law and public opinion, holds a splendid pre-eminence over the English gentleman.

This is principally owing to the distinction which, about the reign of Henry the third, took place in England between the great and small barons.

In all countries where the feudal polity has been established, a national council, under the name of States-General, Cortez, the Grand Assize, the Parliament, has been introduced. It generally consisted of three states, the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Third Estate, or the Commonalty. In almost every country, except England, the Third Estate was originally distinguished from the nobility, and consisted of the Commonalty alone. In England all the Barons, or the Lords of Manors held immediately of the King, were intitled to a seat in the National Council. In the course of time they became numerous, and the estates

of many of them became very small. This introduced a difference in their personal importance.—In consequence of it, the great Barons were personally summoned to parliament by the King, but the small Barons were summoned to it, in the aggregate, by the Sheriff. They assembled in distinct chambers. The King met the great Barons in person, but, except when he summoned their personal attendance, left the latter to their own deliberations.—These and some concurrent circumstances, which it is needless to mention, elevated the great to a distinct order from the small Barons, and confounded the latter with the general body of freeholders.

In the mean time, a considerable revolution took place in the right to peerage. From being Territorial it became Personal;—in other words, instead of conferring on a favoured subject a territory, which being held of the King, made him a Baron, and, of course, a Peer of Parliament, it often happened that the King conferred on him the peerage, with reference to a territory, but without conferring on him any interest in it.—The same revolution took place in respect to the high offices of Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and Viscounts. They were originally territorial, being exerciseable within certain districts, and intitled

the possessors of them to a seat in the national council. By degrees, these also became mere personal honours, the Kings frequently granting them to a person and his heirs, with a nominal reference to a district, but without the slightest authority within it; and, whenever they were granted in this manner, if the party had not a Baronial Dignity, the King conferred it on him, and thus entitled him to a seat in the higher house:—but, where the dignity was hereditary, if he had more than one male descendant, his eldest son only, took his seat in the house: and the brothers and sisters of that son were commoners. Thus a separate rank of nobility, and of personal and legislative nobility, unknown to foreigners, was introduced into England; and thus, in opposition to a fundamental principle of French law, that every gentleman in France is a nobleman—it became a principle of our law, that no English gentleman is a nobleman, unless he is a Peer of Parliament.—In Doctor Moore's *View of the Causes and Consequences of the French Revolution*, vol. i. c. 6, the reader will see the difference between French and English nobility clearly pointed out.

V. On the Continent several ecclesiastical, civil, and military preferments, are open only to the nobility, and it is therefore required of

the Postulant of them, that he prove the nobility of his paternal and maternal ancestors for a given number of descents, or, in the language of heraldry, that he produce his Coat-armour, with a certain number of paternal and maternal Quarterings. On ordinary occasions a Coat-armour of four Quarterings suffices; sixteen are sometimes required: the greatest number ever required in France, was thirty-two; in Germany, sixty-four.

To establish his title to *SIXTEEN QUARTERS* the Postulant must shew:

1. The nobility of his father and paternal grandfather, and of his paternal grandfather's father, and paternal grandfather's paternal grandfather; this intitles him to one quartering:
2. The nobility of his mother, and maternal grandfather, and of his maternal grandfather's father, and maternal grandfather's paternal grandfather; this intitles him to a second quartering:
3. The nobility of his paternal grandmother, and of her father and paternal grandfather; this intitles him to a third quartering:
4. The nobility of his maternal grandmother, and of her father and paternal grand-

father; this intitles him to a fourth quartering:

5. The nobility of his paternal grandfather's mother and her father; this intitles him to a fifth quartering:
6. The nobility of his paternal grandmother's mother and her father; this intitles him to a sixth quartering:
7. The nobility of his maternal grandfather's mother, and her father; this intitles him to a seventh quartering:
8. The nobility of his maternal grandmother's mother, and her father; this intitles him to an eighth quartering:
9. The nobility of his paternal grandfather's paternal grandmother; this intitles him to a ninth quartering:
10. The nobility of his paternal grandfather's maternal grandmother; this intitles him to a tenth quartering:
11. The nobility of his paternal grandmother's paternal grandmother; this intitles him to an eleventh quartering:
12. The nobility of his paternal grandmother's maternal grandmother; this intitles him to a twelfth quartering:
13. The nobility of his maternal grandfather's paternal grandmother; this intitles him to a thirteenth quartering:



9.  
LEWIS, = ADELAIDE  
Duke of  
Burgundy,  
Dauphin of  
France.

10.  
STANISLAUS, = CATHERINE  
King of  
Poland.  
OPOLINSKI,  
of the House  
of Posen.

JOH

LEWIS XV.  
King of  
France.

5.  
MARIA  
LACZINZA,  
Princess of  
Poland.

LEWIS,  
Dauphin  
of  
France.

CHARLES-  
of  
Franc  
Count  
Artois.



14. The nobility of his maternal grandfather's maternal grandmother; this intitles him to a fourteenth quartering:
15. The nobility of his maternal grandmother's paternal grandmother; this intitles him to a fifteenth quartering:
16. The nobility of his maternal grandmother's maternal grandmother; this intitles him to a sixteenth quartering:

To be a Knight of Malta, four quarterings were required from a French, and eight from a German or Spanish postulant: for a canonicate of the cathedral church of Strasburgh, sixteen were required. It being frequently found convenient to repair a shattered patrimony by a mercantile or financial marriage, few French families about the court could produce that number. When all the quarterings were perfect, it was said, that the House was Full; a defective quartering was called a window. On account of the non-noble descent of Mary of Medicis, the wife of Henry IV, the Escutcheon of Lewis XIV, their grandson, had its window. But the provinces abounded with families from whom Knights of Malta, and even canons of Strasburgh might be chosen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Table opposite this page.

JOHN  
HOUSE  
n.

HARLES-I  
of  
Franc  
Count  
Anois.

## NOTE XIV. p. 194.

THE TAILLE, in its origin, was a pecuniary imposition on those who were not liable to military duty; the nobility were of course exempt from it. This, while feudalism prevailed, was perfectly just; for the nobility then served in the ranks as common soldiers; and, as every subject should contribute to the wants of the state, it was reasonable that those who did not serve the state by their persons, should serve it by their purse. But, after the introduction of standing armies, the nobility ceased to serve in the ranks; and of course the original reason of their exemption from the taille no longer existed. From that time the tax of the taille was highly objectionable: it was unequally borne, and strongly marked both to the public and to their own feelings, the inferiority of the class which was liable, to the classes which were exempt from the payment of it.—The same observation applies to several other privileges of the nobility.—See M. Mounier's *Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres*, Tom. I. c. 12.

But, both the clergy and the nobility contributed largely in taxation: they were neces-

sarily subject to excise, to customs, and to every other imposition levied on the consumer. The nobility paid the capitation, and a land-tax of about four shillings in the pound: from those, the clergy, except in the conquered provinces, were exempt; but they made free gifts and were liable to other burdens.

NOTE XV. p. 199.

“ IN 1791,” said Brissot, writing to his correspondents in 1793, “ there were only three “ republicans in France, Buzot, Petion, and “ myself.” “ A thousand similar confessions,” says Mallet du Pan, “ have escaped from the “ Republicans during their quarrels among “ themselves.” But a more just representation of the state of the public mind, at the commencement of the revolution, is given by M. Mounier. By his account one party (which included a great part of the nobility, of the higher ranks of the clergy, and many of the princes of the blood royal), wished to preserve the states general in their antient form. Another party wished to establish two deliberative assemblies in imitation of the English house of parliament; a third wished to establish in France, the federative republics of America;

a fourth, nowise formidable by their numbers, but very formidable by their resources, foreseeing great troubles, were determined to avail themselves of them, to fix the royal power in the hands of some one whom they could manage at will. "The two last of the parties," says Mounier," or rather those two wicked "factions, the existence of which I did not "know till after the assembly of the states-general, had, for many months before, established committees and their secret correspondencies: they were alike disposed to "flatter the populace, to arm it with torches "and daggers, in order to strike terror into "the friends of the throne and of good order; "to destroy the sentiments of love and respect "of the people for the King, and to propagate "the most horrid calumnies. They sought to "turn to advantage all the imprudences of "the court, at a time when the difficulty of its "position precipitated it into imprudent measures."

NOTE XVI. p. 200.

THE best account of the exertions of the French philosophers to produce a new order of things in church and state, is to be found in

the first volume of the *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme* of the Abbé Baruel.

He has been accused of exaggeration; but his account appears to be fully confirmed by the following extracts from the works of two celebrated persons, neither of whose testimony can be refused.

The first is Condorçet. "There was a class  
"of men," says that writer, "which soon  
"formed itself in Europe, with a view not so  
"much to discover and make deep research  
"after truth as to diffuse it; whose chief ob-  
"ject was to attack prejudices in the very  
"asylums where the clergy, the schools, the  
"governments, and the antient corporations  
"had received and protected them; and who  
"made their glory to consist rather in de-  
"stroying popular error, than extending the  
"limits of science: this, though an indirect  
"method of forwarding its progress, was not,  
"on that account, either less dangerous or less  
"useful.

"In England, Collins and Bolingbroke; in  
"France, Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Montes-  
"quieu, and the schools formed by these men,  
"combated in favour of truth. They alter-  
"nately employed all the arms with which  
"learning, philosophy, wit, and literary ta-  
"lents could furnish reason. Assuming every

“ tone and every shape, from the ludicrous to  
“ the pathetic, from the most learned and ex-  
“ tensive compilation to the novel, or the petty  
“ pamphlet of the day, covering truth with a  
“ veil, which sparing the eye, that was too  
“ weak, incited the reader’s curiosity by the  
“ pleasure of letting him surmise what was  
“ meant, insidiously caressing prejudice in  
“ order to strike it with more certainty and  
“ effect; seldom menacing more than one at  
“ a time, and then only in part, sometimes flat-  
“ tering the enemies of reason, by seeming to  
“ ask but for a half toleration in religion, or a  
“ half liberty in polity; respecting despotism,  
“ when they impugned religious absurdities,  
“ and religion when they attacked tyranny;  
“ combating these two pests in their principles,  
“ though apparently inveighing against ridi-  
“ culous and disgusting abuses;—striking at  
“ the root of those pestiferous trees, whilst  
“ they appeared only to wish to lop the strag-  
“ gling branches; at one time marking out  
“ superstition, which covers despotism with its  
“ impenetrable shield, to the friends of liberty,  
“ as the first victim which they were to immo-  
“ late, the first link to be cleft asunder; at  
“ another, denouncing religion to despots as  
“ the real enemy of their power, and frighten-  
“ ing them with its hypocritical plots and san-

“guinary rage; but indefatigable when they  
 “claimed the independence of reason and the  
 “liberty of the press, as the right and safe-  
 “guard of mankind;—inveighing with enthu-  
 “siastic energy against the crimes of Fanati-  
 “cism and Tyranny, reprobating every thing  
 “which bore the character of oppression,  
 “harshness, or barbarity, whether in religion,  
 “administration, morals or laws; commanding  
 “kings, warriors, priests, and magistrates, in  
 “the name of nature to spare the blood of  
 “men; reproaching them in the most ener-  
 “getic strain with that which their policy or  
 “indifference prodigally lavished on the scaf-  
 “fold or in the field of battle; in fine, adopting  
 “reason, toleration, and humanity, as their  
 “signal and watchword.

“Such was the modern philosophy, so much  
 “detested by those numerous classes whose  
 “very existence was drawn from prejudices;—  
 “its chiefs had the art of escaping vengeance,  
 “though exposed to hatred, of hiding them-  
 “selves from persecution, though sufficiently  
 “conspicuous to lose nothing of their glory.

The testimony of M. Mallet du Pan, (*Con-  
 siderations on the Nature of the French Revolu-  
 tion, and on the Causes which prolonged its Dura-  
 tion*, p. 91, note), is equally decisive of the  
 nature and extent of the Jacobin conspiracy.

“ The conspiracy of the Jacobins,” he says,  
“ is not a being of fancy. The actors in in-  
“ surrections, in conflagrations, in massacres,  
“ really form a confraternity. Systematically  
“ organized, they have their catechism, their  
“ slang, their colonels, their majors, their cap-  
“ tains, their profession and their noviciate,  
“ their points of correspondence, their re-  
“ spective tasks, their departments, their cus-  
“ toms, and the laws of their order. Even in  
“ foreign countries this infernal society has its  
“ affiliated clubs; it has excited all the master  
“ crimes of the Revolution, and has attempted,  
“ in twenty parts of Europe, commotions simi-  
“ lar to those which it has raised in France.  
“ It had its origin in the Palais-royal, and has  
“ been the right hand of the leading con-  
“ spirators. Rotondo Fournier, an American,  
“ Estienne, formerly a captain of the Sans  
“ Cullottes, at Brussels; L’Huillier, Procureur-  
“ general of the department of Paris; Mail-  
“ lard, formerly a bum-bailiff; the leading  
“ men of the club of the Cordeliers, have been  
“ the principal officers of this regiment. M.  
“ de la Fayette knew it and dreaded it; but  
“ never had the courage to attack it in ear-  
“ nest. The last enterprize plotted by Ro-  
“ tondo was at Geneva, where he has been  
“ arrested some months since. I could add



“ some most extraordinary details to these few  
“ lines; but I confine myself to merely assur-  
“ ing the public, that they have as yet but a  
“ very superficial knowledge of the Revolu-  
“ tion in its present state, and that one cannot  
“ too much lament the improvidence of those  
“ who think they sufficiently secure themselves  
“ against it, by raising some walls about its  
“ territories.”

But no work, perhaps, contains so perfect a view of the designs and ultimate tendency of the Jacobin conspiracy as the Abbé de Mably's *Doutes proposées au Philosophes économistes sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des Sociétés politiques*; and his *Treatise des Droits et Devoirs des Citoyens*. The reader will find them a complete code of Jacobin principles: of the means they were to employ to accomplish their object; and a full view of the ultimate state of things which it was their great end and aim to produce.

It would, however, be a great injustice to confound together all the writers whose works have contributed to the French revolution. They may be divided into three classes:—under the first, may be ranked those who were satisfied with pointing out to sovereigns the duties which they owe to their subjects, and the motives which religion and reason suggest

to excite sovereigns to a faithful discharge of them. Those writers, though by making subjects feel their rights, they co-operated remotely in producing the general ferment which led to the revolution, are not only free from blame, but are entitled to the thanks of mankind. Such were Massillon and Fenelon: the general duties of a sovereign, the wickedness and infamy of an oppressive, extravagant, and voluptuous reign, are no where more eloquently, more pathetically, or more forcibly exposed than in the *Telemachus* of the latter, or the *Petit Carême* of the former. So much was this the case, that during the contests of Lewis XV with the parliaments, large editions of the *Petit Carême* of Massillon were repeatedly printed and circulated throughout the kingdom.

The same, (if allowance be made for some indiscreet expressions), may be said of Montesquieu; and he had the additional merit of pointing out the general revolution of opinion which the diffusion of knowledge had produced, and was every day producing in France, and the necessity of appeasing it by the sacrifice of some abuses. Those who are acquainted with that great man's writings, must be surprised to see him ranked among the conspirators against monarchy.

The general body of writers called the

French Philosophers, then come for consideration: they may be divided into two classes,—at the head of one of them we may place Voltaire, at the head of the other, Rousseau.

From a settled plan, and even a serious wish of overturning the monarchy, justice requires us to acquit the former: a slight limitation of the arbitrary power of the crown, and the privileges of the nobility, would have satisfied him: but the utmost he would have left the church, was a decent maintenance for her ministers.—On the other hand, Rousseau thought mankind could not be happy till every distinction of rank was abolished, and property was held in common.

In the different Assemblies each of those classes of writers had their disciples. The venerable bishop of Arles, the bishops of Clermont and Nancy, and a few more of the royalists, may be reckoned among the disciples of Fénélon and Massillon: M. Malouet, M. Mounier, M. Lally, and the general body of Monarchists and Constitutionals, may be reckoned among the disciples of Voltaire: the Abbé Sieyès, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and the general body of Jacobins, may be reckoned among the disciples of Rousseau.

When the hour of action came, the spirit of the masters appeared in their disciples. Like

Fenelon and Massillon, the bishop of Arles, and the royalists of his character, thought it a sacrilege to touch either the altar or the throne. Like Voltaire, the Malouets, Mouniers, and Lallys, wished much alteration in the church, and some in the state; but like him they wished these alterations effected without violence; and were ready to fly at the first beat of a democratic drum:—to use an expression attributed to Mirabeau, they wished *une Revolution à la Grandison*.—The Jacobins, like Rousseau, despised half reforms and half measures, they thought nothing would be quite right till the church and state were destroyed, and the golden year should arrive, when, according to the expression attributed to Diderot, the last king should be strangled with the guts of the last priest.—In the schemes of the Jacobins, the monarchists and constitutionalists unfortunately co-operated; but it was unintentionally; they were the first to appeal to the people, but their appeal was certainly accepted beyond their wishes.

## NOTE XXI.

IN the Notes at the end of some of the Sections of this compilation, mention has been made of SEVERAL WORKS CONSULTED IN IT BY THE WRITER. It may be added, that in the part of it which relates to the history of Germany, during the middle age, he frequently turned to *Jacobi Caroli Speneri Notitia Germaniæ Antiquæ, cui accedit conspectus Germaniæ Mediæ; cum tabulis Geographicis. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1717, 2 vol. 4to.* In every part of the compilation he consulted the same writer's *Historia Germaniæ Universalis et Pragmatica, Lipsiæ et Halæ 1716, 2. vol. 8vo.*—*Heineccius's Elementa Juris Germanici, Halæ, 1736, 2 vol. 8vo.*—*Pfefell's Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne, Paris 1777, 2 vol. 8vo.*—*Mr. Dornford's translation of Mr. Professor Pütter's Historical Development of the present political constitution of the Germanic Empire, London 1790, 3 vol. 8vo.*—*And Histoire des Allemands traduite de l'Allemand de Smidt; par I. C. de la Veaux, a Liege, 1784, & seq. 8 vol. 8vo.*

In the genealogical part of the compilation, he particularly consulted *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, a work of surprising labour and research. It is to be wished that the author had

mentioned his sources of information. If, (what is much wanted), a new edition of it should be undertaken, it will greatly enhance its value, that an Introduction should be prefixed to it, containing an history of the rise and progress of Genealogical and Heraldic Learning, and an account, in the nature of a French Catalogue Raisonné, of the principal writers consulted in it; and that, at the head of each Genealogy, the work from which it is extracted, should be mentioned.—The writer consulted also the *Theatrum Genealogicum of Henninges*, 6 vol. fol. 1598, a work of curious and recondite learning, and probably the stock of all subsequent works on Genealogy;—*The Notitia S. R. Imperii Procerum of Imhoff*, Stutgardia, fol. 1699; and *Le Sage's and l'Avoisne's useful Genealogical and Historical Charts*.

In his account of the House of Austria, the writer consulted, *Marquardi Hergott, Genealogia Diplomatica Augustæ Gentis Habsburgicæ, cum figuiris æneis, Viennæ Austriae 1737*, 2 tom. in 3 vol. fol.; and *Kraft's Histoire Genealogique de la Maison d'Autriche, Bruxelles 1744*, and 1745, 3 vol. fol.

On the Guelphic Dynasty, he consulted *Rinius's Memoirs of the House of Brunswick*, and *Mr. Gibbon's Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. It is much to be lamented that

Mr. Gibbon left it unfinished, and that it abounds with so many obscure passages;—a person to whom the subjects are familiar, will frequently be instructed and generally entertained with it, and with *The Digression concerning the House of Courtenay*: but those, to whom the subjects are new, will seldom derive pleasure or instruction from them.—On the same subject he had the assistance of *The Origines Guelficæ of Scheidius, Hanoveræ 1750, 2 vol. fol.*—a model of Genealogical History. After a fruitless search for it among the English booksellers, the author was indebted for the loan of it, to the Earl of Leicester: The general scarcity, in London, of works of foreign history, and foreign literature, has long been a subject of wonder and complaint: but it should appear incredible, that, in the greatest capital in the world, there should not be on sale, a single copy of a work of so much consequence to the family history of its Sovereign.—This circumstance shews how desirable it is, that access to the public libraries of London should be made as easy as possible.

In what he has said on the Revolutions of France, the writer found great use in the *Theorie du Monde Politique, ou de la Science du Gouvernement considerée come Science exacte, par Ch. Hiss. 8vo. Paris, 1806; and La France pen-*

*dant Quatorze Siècles, ou Preuves de la Constitution de la Monarchie Française dans différents Ages, par M. de Blaire, Londres, 1796, octavo.*

—On that very desirable object the Reunion of Christians, he had the advantage of perusing, in the *Ambigu* of M. Peltier, the interesting though sly Essay of M. Bonald *de l'Unité Religieuse*.—The free use, which the honourable Robert Clifford gave him of his invaluable collection of Maps, was of the greatest advantage to the writer:—*Sic siti lætantur lares*,—the literary lares are never so pleased, as when they preside over a collection made with so much science, and communicated with so much liberality.

### THE END.

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### ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 3, last line, for *Augustus*, read *Augustulus*.  
 68, line 17, for *fourth*, read *fourteenth*.  
 92, ... 13, dele *therefore*.  
 106, ... 11, for *Note XI*, read *Note XII*.  
 122, last line, for *Philip the fourth*, read *Philip the father of Charles the fifth*.  
 180, line 1, for *the other*, read *another*.  
 160, ... 16, for *have*, read *claim*.  
*Ibid.*, ... 21, for *Paul the sixth*, read *Paul the fifth*.  
 164, ... 11, for *solvo*, read *soleo*.  
 222, note, line 12, for *Joseph the second*, read *Joseph the first*.  
 240, line 24, for *fourth*, read *eleventh*.  
 264, ... 18, for *Charles-Philip-Theodore*, read *Charles-Maximilian-Joseph*.  
 Table IX. after *Charles son of Ferdinand I*, dele "*Emperor*".  
 ... XI, for *Charles VI*, read *Charles IV*.  
 and dele *Charles IV, 1350*.

### ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA CONTINUED.

- Page 115. l. 14. for *ten* read *eight*.  
 160. l. 4. between *their* and *blessings* insert *alleged*.  
 167. l. 9. for *eleven* read *eight*.  
 Table X. l. 2. for *grandfather* read *great grandfather*.  
 Page 240, after the last line, insert, *Roger his son*;—  
*Roger*, by  
 272. l. 9. for *Laines* read *Luines*.

It should have been observed that, in several instances, where a person, named in the Genealogical Tables, has died either without issue, or without any issue through whom the descent or devolution of the pedigree is carried, no mention



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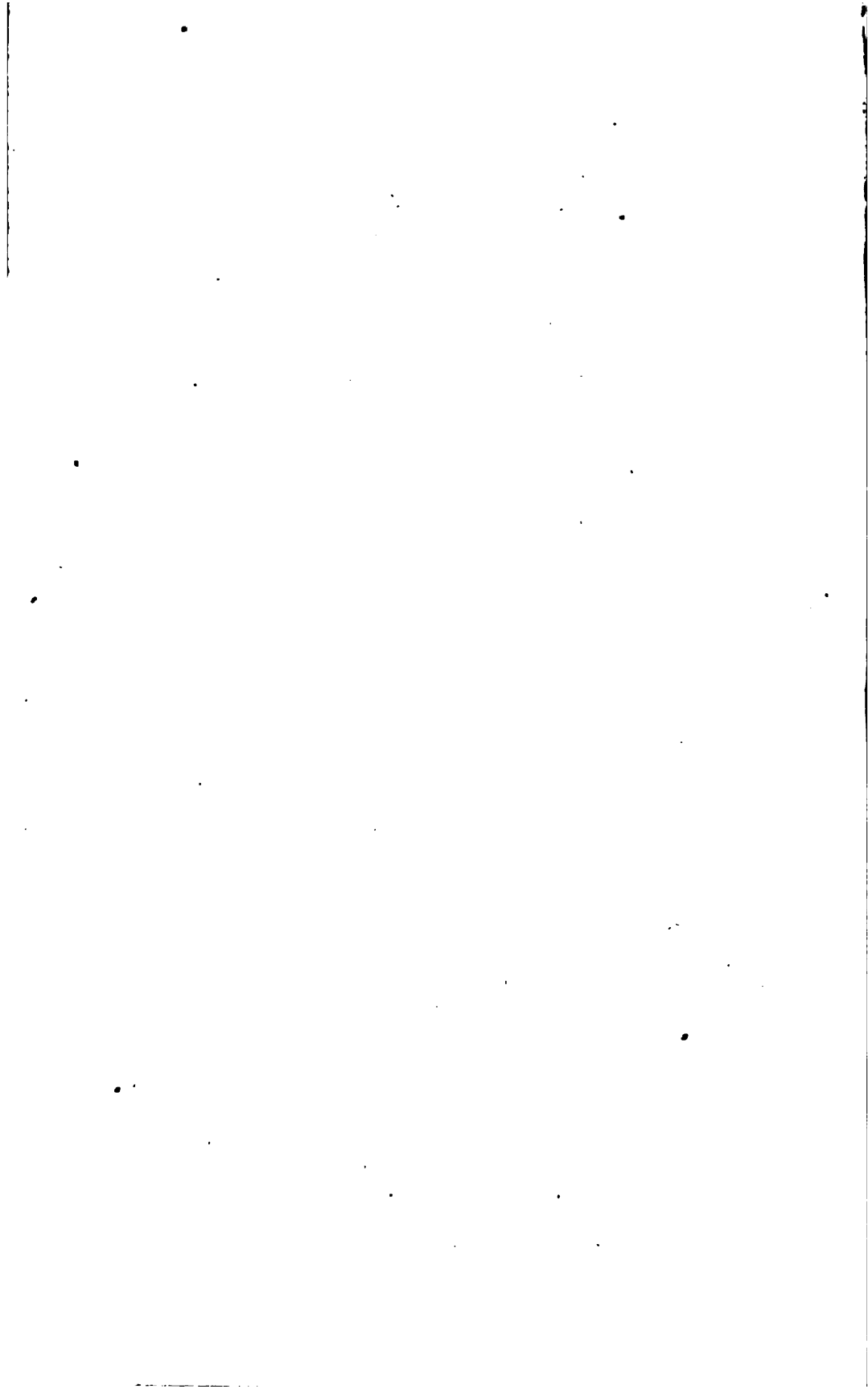
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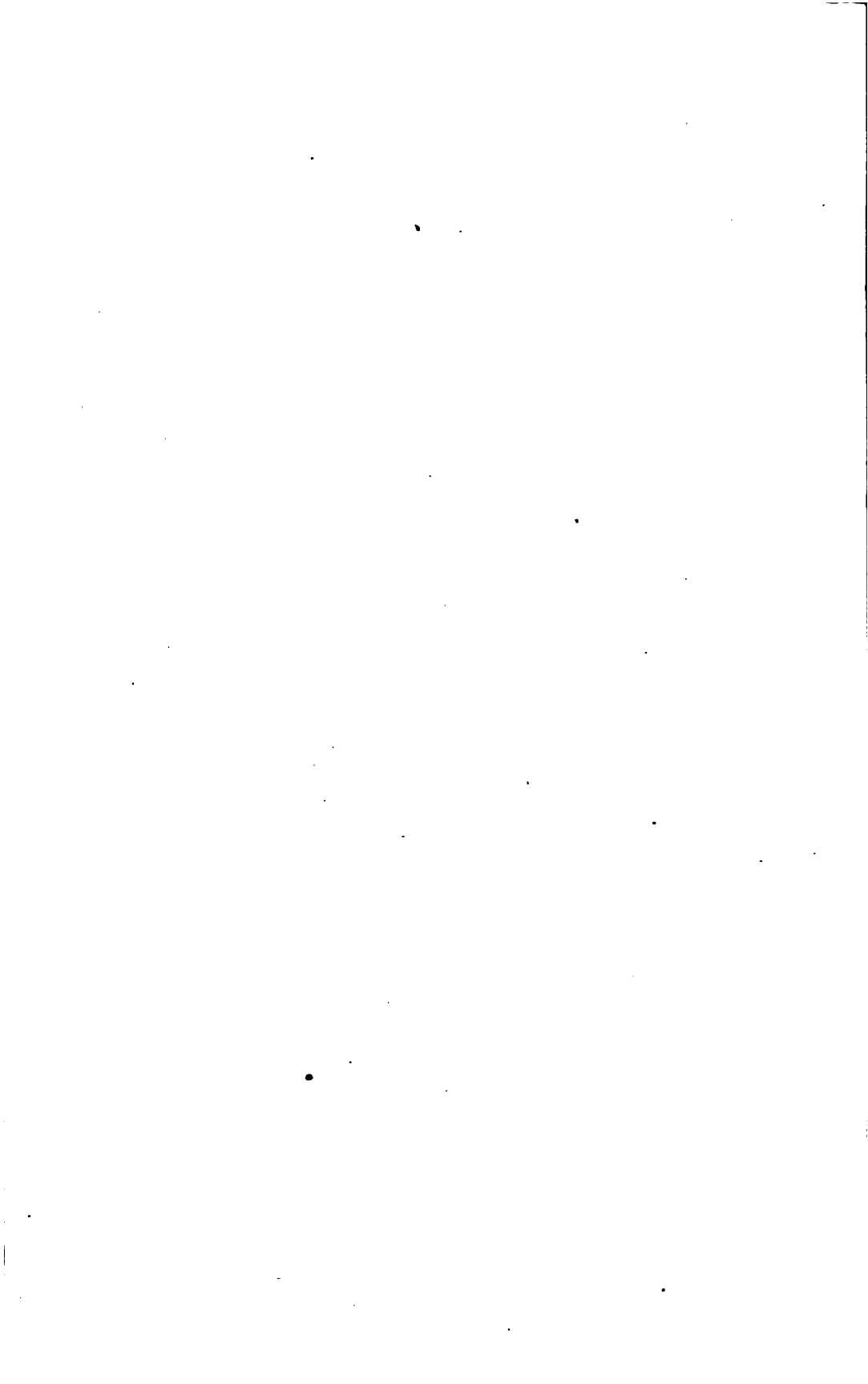
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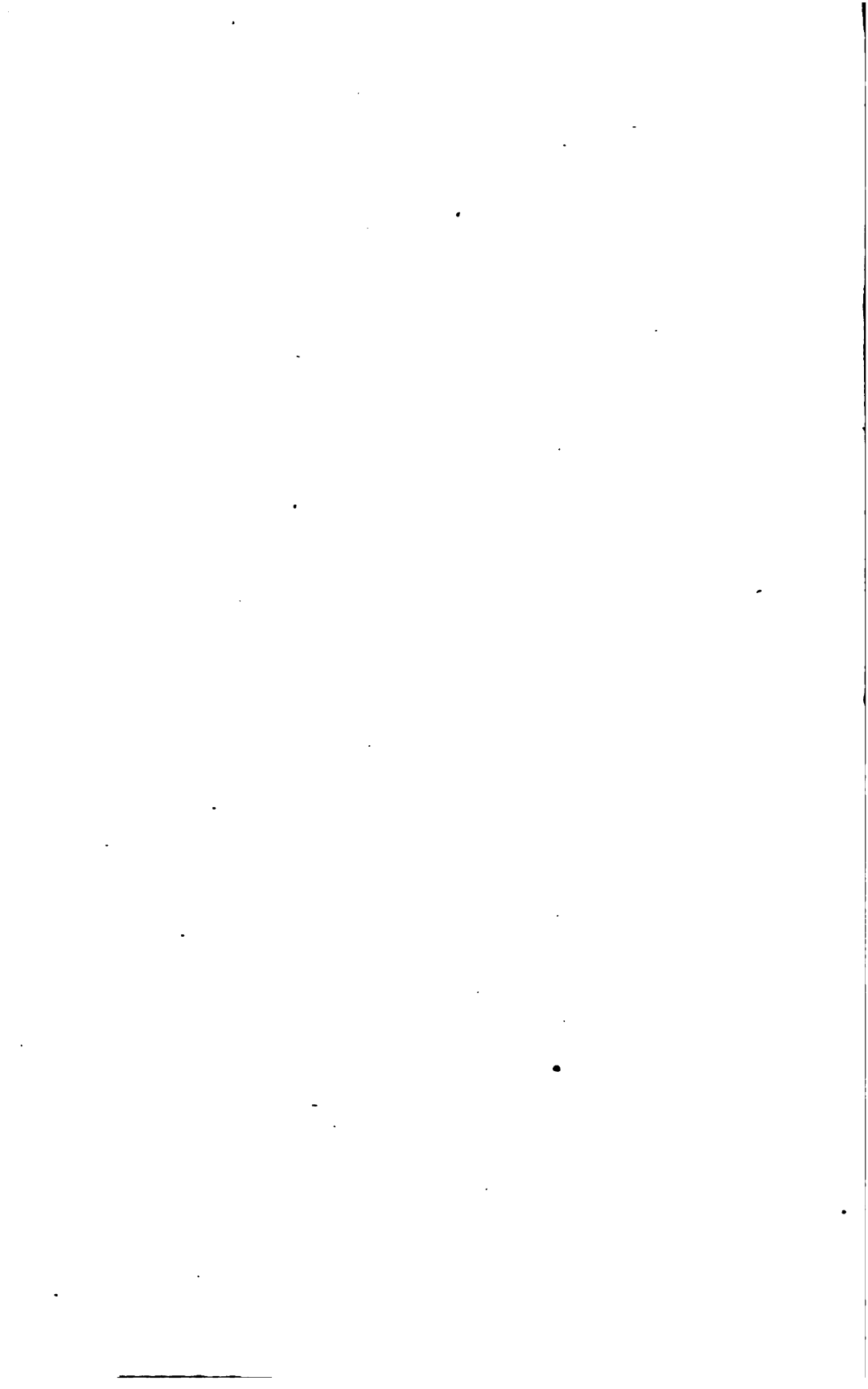
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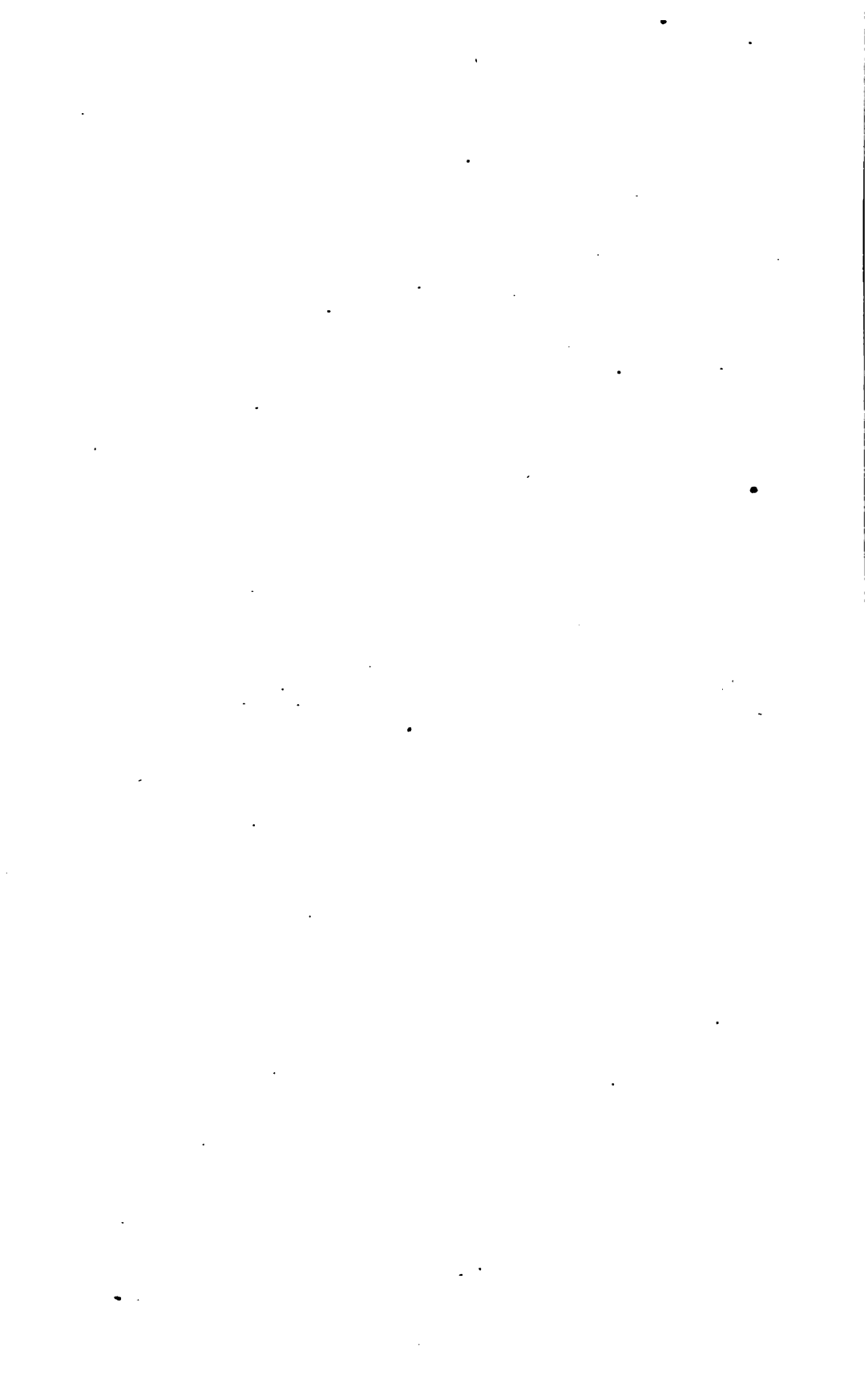
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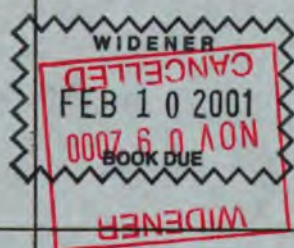




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